Version 12: September 4, 2007

AN AMERIND ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

Joseph H. Greenberg

Merritt Ruhlen

Department of Anthropological Sciences

Stanford University

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This book is dedicated to the Amerind people,

the first Americans

Preface

The present volume is a revison, extension, and refinement of the evidence for the Amerind linguistic family that was initially offered in Greenberg (1987). This revision entails (1) the correction of a number of forms, and the elimination of others, on the basis of criticism by specialists in various Amerind languages; (2) the consolidation of certain Amerind subgroup etymologies (given in Greenberg 1987) into Amerind etymologies; (3) the addition of many reconstructions from different levels of Amerind, based on a comprehensive database of all known reconstructions for Amerind subfamilies; and, finally, (4) the addition of a number of new Amerind etymologies presented here for the first time. I believe the present work represents an advance over the original, but it is at the same time simply one step forward on a project that will never be finished.

M. R.
September 2007

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Introduction

This volume presents the lexical and grammatical evidence that defines the Amerind linguistic family. The evidence is presented in terms of 913 etymologies, arranged alphabetically according to the English gloss. Each etymology begins with the English gloss followed by a hypothetical phonetic form from which the individual Amerind forms are presumed to have derived. Within the body of each etymology the evidence is arrayed in terms of the thirteen branches of Amerind in a roughly north to south (or sometimes west to east) order: Almosan, Keresiouan, Penutian, Hokan, Central Amerind, Chibchan, Paezan, Andean, Equatorial, Macro-Tucanoan, Macro-Carib, Macro-Panoan, Macro-Ge.

Of course not all of the etymologies presented here derive from Proto-Amerind; many are later innovations within the Amerind family and define Amerind sub-groups, but it is often difficult to distinguish the taxonomic level of each etymology because data on Amerind languages are far from complete. An example of this problem is Greenberg's Amerind etymology 125, GIRL. Greenberg cited 17 forms from Almosan, Penutian, Hokan, and Central Amerind, some of which I have eliminated. The distribution of Greenberg's forms could be interpreted either as an Amerind etymology whose forms never made it to South America, or as an innovation within Northern Amerind branches after the South American Amerind groups had already split off. Subsequent research has, however, clarified this issue, as can be seen in etymology 699 in this book. This etymology now contains over 800 forms and is found in all 13 branches of Amerind, leaving little doubt that it derives from Proto-Amerind. Moreover, this complex pattern was an *invention* of the Amerind people, and not a trait that was inherited from their Asian ancestors, for this pattern does not exist elsewhere in the world.

The Amerind pronoun pattern *na/ma* 'I/you' (etymologies 399 and 781), which is widespread in Amerind and virtually absent elsewhere in the world, also almost certainly derives from Proto-Amerind, though it is not found in every branch. There is, however, another way of showing that a particular etymology derives from Proto-Amerind even though it may be found in only

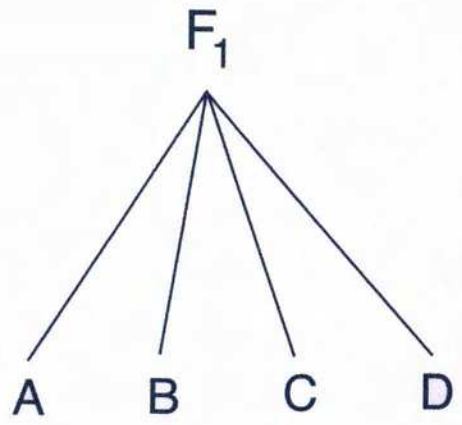
a few Amerind branches. If a root is found in the Old World and in Amerind, the presumption is that it was brought into the Americas with the Amerind migration and was therefore part of Proto-Amerind. Examples of such roots in this book are indicated in comments following the etymology (e.g. 53, 100, 101, 127, 137, 156, 163, 168, 172, 192, 267, 268, 272, 326, 357, 395, 796, 824).

Each of the thirteen Amerind subgroups begins with the subgroup name, followed by the data from different Amerind groups (or languages) that are arranged genetically where the genetic structure is known (i.e., groups or languages closest to one another are listed side by side). The complete classification of all Amerind languages considered is given in the back of the book.

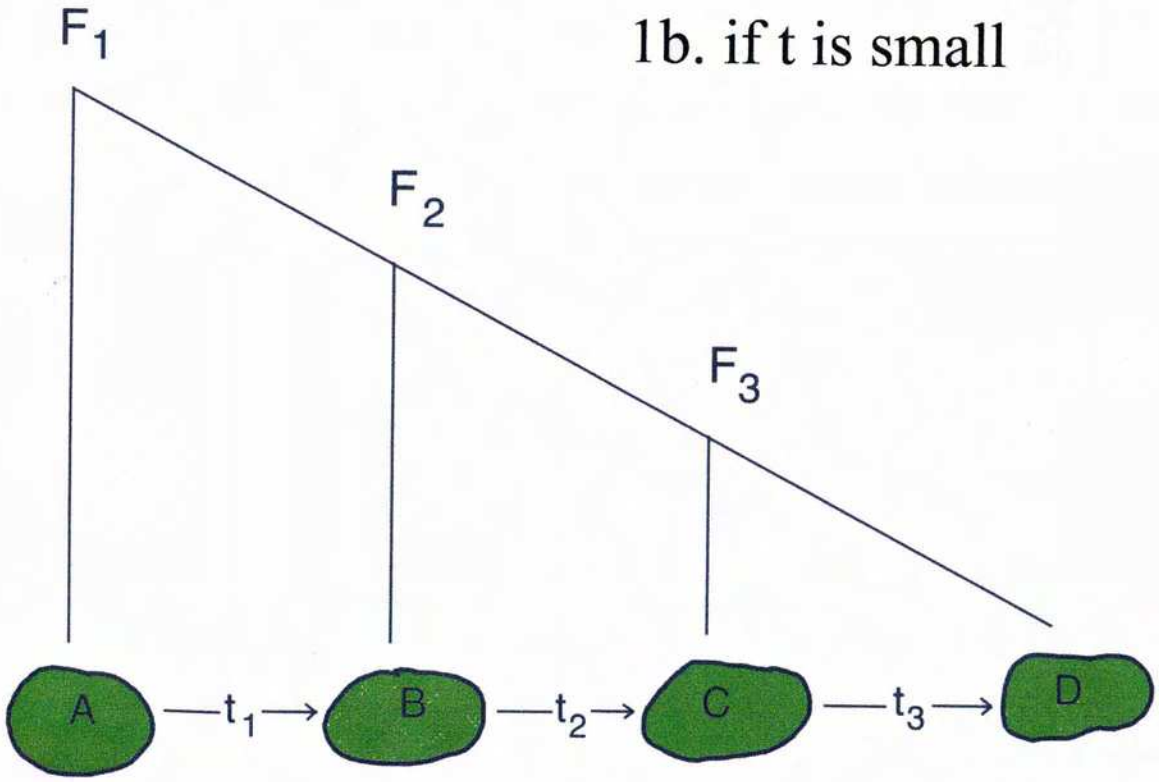
Some readers will note that both Almosan-Keresiouan and Chibchan-Paezan are here broken up into their two branches, rather than treated as single branches, as in *Language in the Americas*. This is not to be interpreted as a retraction of the claim that Almosan and Keresiouan, and Chibchan and Paezan, are both valid higher-level taxa within the Amerind family. It is done merely as a clearer way of arraying the evidence.

Furthermore, the internal structure of the Amerind family is a vastly more difficult problem than the simple delineation of the family as a whole. Despite claims often made to the contrary, higher-level families are often much *easier* to discern than intermediate subgroups, as Indo-European, Austronesian, and Amerind all attest. This is especially important for Amerind. It is often claimed that as one goes back in time words are lost in all languages at a gradual rate so that the taxonomic picture gets dimmer and dimmer and finally turns to black. While it seems obvious to anyone that as one goes back in time things do get dimmer, it's not true. Sometimes as one goes back in time things become more clear. The failure to understand this fundamental taxonomic principle is the source of much of the current confusion in historical linguistics. Linguistics, unlike biology, was from its inception strictly cladistic, that is, each node in a phylogenetic tree is defined by one or more innovations. However, whether such innovations develop, thus revealing the internal subgrouping of a family, depends on the rate of disintegration of that family, as illustrated in Fig. 1 on the following page.

Let us assume that there is a population on island A. At some point in time part of that population moves to island B. Later part of that population moves to island C, and finally part of that population moves to island D. Let us further assume that there is no further contact between these populations. The correct phylogenetic tree will then be as in 1a and many historical linguists believe that F3 will be more obvious, and better supported, than F2, and F2 more obvious than F1. Whether this is true or not depends on the amount of time between the separation of the populations. Let us assume that



1b. if t is small



1a. if t is large

Figure 1. Time and Internal Structure

some people on island A moved to B on Monday, then part of that population to C on Tuesday and part of that population to D on Wednesday, and then 500 years pass. Under these circumstances the phylogenetic tree, based on linguistic evidence, will be as in 1b since there will not have been any time for innovations to develop which would distinguish F2 and F3. The language on each island would have been identical at the start and each would have then gone its own way, in a process similar to genetic drift.

If, however, the time of the separations was 500 years, not one day, then both F2 and F3 will be well defined by innovations that have accumulated during those 500 years. In *both* scenarios, however, F1 will be well defined by those words that have been preserved on islands A, B, C, and D. Thus, whether the intermediate nodes can be identified or not depends on the rate of separation. With a rapid disintegration it is only the highest level node that will be clear, the intermediate nodes often being unclear or even invisible. An example of this principle is the initial peopling of the Americas by the Amerind family. Archaeological evidence indicates that the initial peopling of the New World was a very rapid migration that filled two empty continents with people in 1,000 years. Under these circumstances it is the *highest* level node—Proto-Amerind—that will be the most obvious, as the *n/m* pronoun pattern (see etymolgies 399 and 781) and the *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* root (see etymology 699) clearly show, as does the rest of this dictionary. In fact, the *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* etymology itself gives linguistic support for the rapid expansion through all of North and South America because this entire complex system can be reconstructed on the South American evidence as well as on the North American evidence, indicating that the entire system made it intact into South America before breaking up, as it has in all extent Amerind languages.

There is also genetic evidence that the Americas were peopled by a small population in a short period of time. Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1988) found in their seminal work on the genetic structure of human populations that New World populations were divided into the same three groups that Greenberg had identified on linguistic evidence: Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dene, and Amerind. However, subsequent research on the correlation of genes and language *within* Amerind often found virtually no correlation at all. Does this mean that genes and languages do not correlate after all? Not at all. What it shows is genetic drift at work. When small populations break up into even smaller populations the distribution of genes can diverge radically in any direction, thus quickly obscuring the original unity and making subgrouping difficult, or impossible, to discern. This is exactly what happened with the initial

Amerind population. Once this small population entered the Americas, then split into numerous smaller groups, and peopled two continents in 1,000 years, this was probably the greatest experiment in genetic drift the world has ever seen. The fact that virtually all Amerind people are of blood group O is sometimes explained as a consequence of genetic drift.

The question of the precise date of the first migration into the New World has long been a focus of dispute, with some archaeologists, linguists, and geneticists maintaining that there were people in the New World over 30,000 years ago, while other archaeologists, linguists, and geneticists have argued that there were no people in the New World until the ice-free corridor through Canada opened around 13,500 years ago, allowing one small population to fill two continents in 1,000 years. Recently, Mark Seielstad et al. have found a mutation on the Y chromosome (M242) that lies between two mutations that are known to have occurred in Asia (M45, M74) and a mutation that arose in the Americas (M3) (Seielstad et al. 2003). They have dated the M242 mutation to the range 15,000–18,000 BP and have argued that this date provides a fairly certain upper bound on the time of the first entry into the Americas. This date corresponds well with the archaeological date.

There is also other archaeological evidence that supports a late, rather than early, entry into the Americas. The archaeological record shows that between 13,000 BP and 11,000 BP there was suddenly a rapid extinction of numerous species of large animals, an extinction that is often attributed to the first appearance of humans in the Americas. These animals had never seen humans before and thus had no fear of them, to their detriment.

In addition, it is now believed that dogs were first domesticated in East Asia around 15,000 years ago (Wade 2006). Since the first Americans brought domesticated dogs with them they could not have left Asia before 15,000 BP or they would have had no dogs. It thus appears that the first entry into North America took place not long after the domestication of dogs. For unknown reasons all of these Asian dogs brought to America have gone extinct, replaced by European dogs who arrived much later.

As far as the internal subgrouping of Amerind is concerned, Greenberg suggested that Almosan-Keresiouan, Chibchan-Paezan, Equatorial-Tucanoan, and Ge-Pano-Carib probably form valid higher-level subgroups. Greenberg also proposed that Almosan-Keresiouan, Hokan and Penutian form a higher-level group which he called Northern Amerind. Cavalli-Sforza and I also found support for this Northern Amerind group, as well as evidence for a Southern Amerind group which would contain the eight South American branches (Ruhlen 1991).

The Central Amerind group is remarkable for its broad distribution—

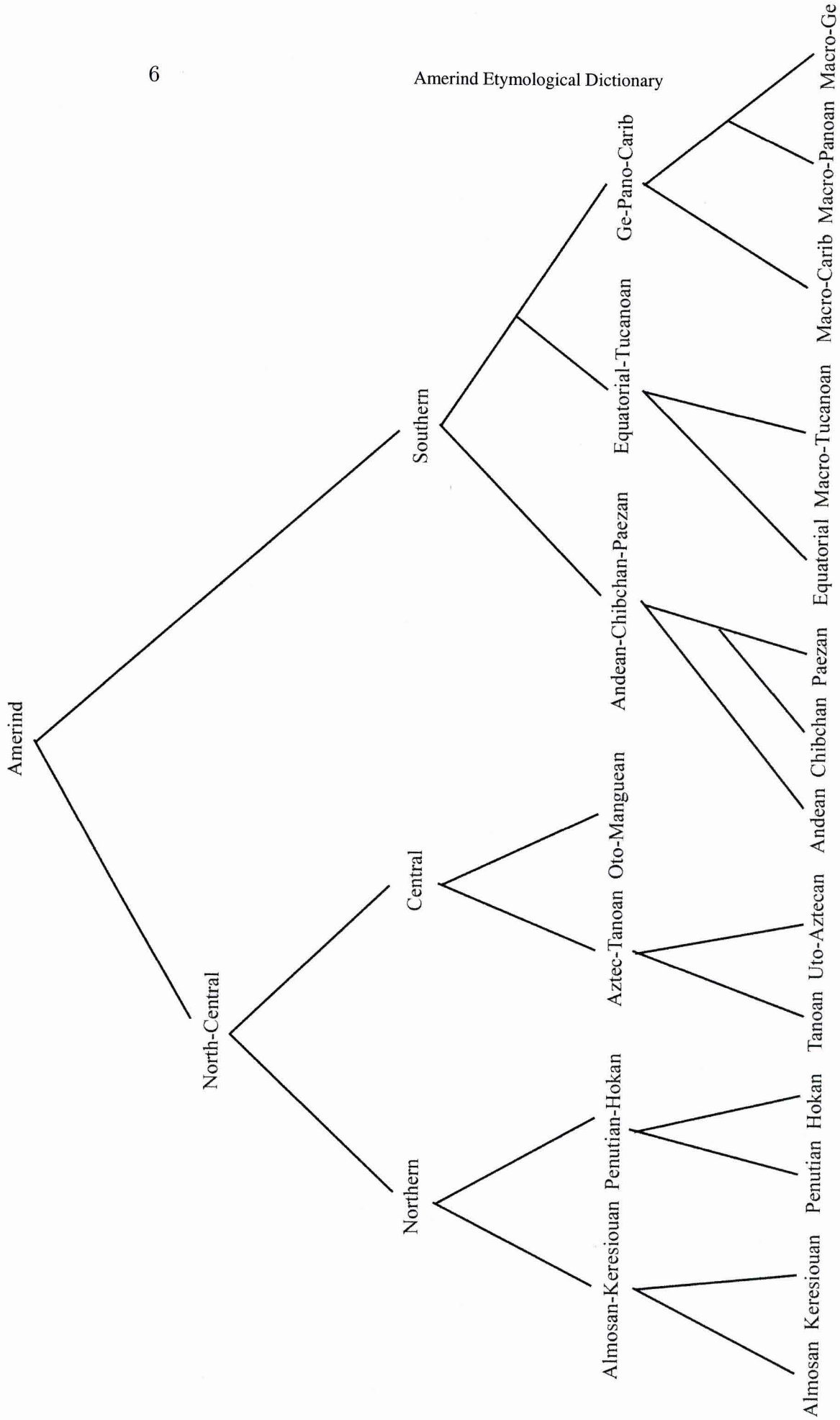


Figure 2. Phylogenetic Structure of the Amerind Family

from Southern Mexico to Utah. Central Amerind has three branches: Oto-Manguean, Uto-Aztecan, and Tanoan. Oto-Manguean is found in Southern Mexico, Uto-Aztecan from Southern Mexico to Utah, and Tanoan in New Mexico. Whorf and Trager (1937) proposed that Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan formed a higher level group which they called Aztec-Tanoan. It is clear that the Oto-Manguean homeland was in Southern Mexico, but where was the Aztec-Tanoan homeland? It was originally thought that the Uto-Aztecan homeland was in the north and the expansion was from north to south. That Tanoan is in the north would support this conclusion. However, it is now known that the Uto-Aztecan expansion was south to north—from Southern Mexico to Utah—and thus Tanoan appears to have been an offshoot of this south to north migration. Looking at the structure of Amerind from this perspective would lead one to the conclusion that Central Amerind represents an expansion back into territory that was originally Northern Amerind. See Map 1.

My current view of the phylogenetic structure of the Amerind family is shown in Fig. 2, though this will inevitably evolve—in unpredictable ways—as further research is carried out. Possibly Andean will turn out to be closer to North-Central Amerind than to the other South American groups. The precise position of Chibchan-Paezan is also problematical.

This book is essentially the first step in the Comparative Method, the identification of morphemes in different languages that are similar in sound and meaning and can therefore be presumed to have "sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists," as Sir William Jones put it in 1786. This first stage is simply taxonomy. The second step in the Comparative Method is what is commonly called historical linguistics, the attempt to analyze these similar words and to ascertain the original form from which all descend and to figure out the sound correspondences that explain the differences. The time and place of the original language is also investigated. It should be obvious that this second stage must follow the first.

Each etymology in this book concludes with an indication, in brackets, of the source of the etymology and, in some cases, a comment on the etymology follows the indication of its source. Etymologies that have no source indicated are presented here for the first time. In addition, etymologies attributed solely to Greenberg have often been modified by the inclusion or exclusion of certain forms, so they are often different from the etymologies given in *Language in the Americas.* In indicating the source of the etymology—the vast majority of which derive from *Language in the Americas*—the following abbreviations are used for Amerind and its branches: A: Amerind, AL: Almosan, KS: Keresiouan, P: Penutian, H: Hokan, CA: Central Amerind, CH:

Chibchan, PZ: Paezan, AN: Andean, E: Equatorial, MT: Macro-Tucanoan, MC: Macro-Carib, MP: Macro-Panoan, MG: Macro-Ge.

In addition to this somewhat different arrangement of the data, as compared to that in *Language in the Americas,* I have also modified the spelling of certain language names, where a different spelling seemed preferable (e.g. "Uitoto" has been changed to "Witoto"). The phonetic forms have also been slightly modified from the earlier work, most notably by the symbols used for ejectives (*p', t', k'* in this book, replacing $p^?$, $t^?$, $k^?$). In addition, t^s is now *c*, yod (the high front semivowel) is indicated by *y,* rather than by *j,* the front rounded vowels are now indicated by *ü* and *ö* rather than *y* and *ø,* respectively, and *ɯ* is now *ï.* These changes seem more in keeping with Americanist practice.

Following the etymologies the reader will find a summary of the classification, maps indicating the distribution of various language groups, and a list of references. No attempt is made to list every source for every word cited; indeed, no etymological dictionary has ever attempted to provide this level of detail for all sources. Greenbergs' notebooks, which indicate sources for all of his data, are publically available. The sources I have used in revising Greenberg's book are given in the References.

I have attempted to avoid abbreviations as much as possible, since they are often opaque to non-linguists, but the following abbreviations are used: sg.: singular, pl.: plural, masc.: masculine, fem.: feminine, n.: noun, v.: verb, tr.: transitive, intr.: intransitive. In addition, forms that are problematical by dint of anomalous semantics or phonetics, or by weak distribution, are preceded by ? to indicate their questionable status.

Since this is obviously a work in progress, as it will be forever, I welcome corrections to the data presented here, as well as corrections to the interpretation of correct (or incorrect) data. I would also welcome suggestions of things that Joe and I overlooked. All such corrections can be sent to amerind-dictionary@stanfordalumni.org.

An Amerind Etymological Dictionary

1 ABOVE$_1$ *itai

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan *-doy* 'up.'

Chibchan: Malibu: Chimila *itta, ita* 'heaven.' Motilon *adu* 'high.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *du* 'hill.' Proto-Choco *ɨ̃t^{h}ɨ* 'up,' Chami *itare,* Catio *utu* 'peak.' Paez *ete.* Warrau *(y)ata.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *ɨtã-gɨ̃* 'hill, mountain,' Bara *ɨtã-ŋa,* Guanano *tɨ̃-kɨ̃.*

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban *ita-bokhau* 'sky.' Arawakan: Campa *a-ito* 'head.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *tai* 'head,' Witoto *aite* 'high' (Kinder), *aise* 'high' (Las Cortes). Carib: Roucouyenne *ite-puru* 'head.' Yagua: Peba *say* 'head, hair.'

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *ta* 'head,' *ita* 'top of,' Fulnio *etai* 'on top,' Mashakali: Monosho *toi* 'head,' Macuni *epo-toi* 'head.'

• [A1] See HEAD$_2$. The relationship between these two etymologies may be the same as in ABOVE$_2$, which has forms with and without *-k.* This *k* may be an old locative.

2 ABOVE$_2$ *apa-k

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian (Haas) *umpi* 'high,' Arapaho *api* 'stand up,' *-ap* 'standing.' Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *-api* 'up in the air, erect, standing.'

Keresiouan: Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan *pa* 'head,' Ofo *iphi,* Hidatsa *apahi* 'heaven,' Catawba *haːp,* [wahpeː] 'sky' (Gallatin 1836); Yuchi *pe.* Caddoan: Pawnee *pe* 'erect, but humped.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *bax-* 'up.' Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *pam-* 'up,' Kalapuya *am-efo* 'mountain.' Plateau: Klamath *-abaː-* 'upward.' Proto-California *p^{h}uq* 'hill,' Wintu *p^{h}uyuq* 'hill,' *p^{h}oy* 'head.' Yokuts: Yawelmani *puk'aːl* 'hill.' Proto-Gulf *aba* 'up,' *pek* 'above,' Chitimacha *pek-, pokta* 'heaven, cloud'; Natchez *abo:* 'head'; Muskogean: Chickasaw *paknaʔ* 'top,' Choctaw *pakna* 'on top,' *aba* 'up, high, heaven,' Koasati *aba* 'up.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *(a/i)pa(l^y)* 'top,' *paL* 'rise up,' Proto-Pomo *ba-* 'top.' Salinan: San Miguel *oːp^{h}ak* 'head.' Proto-Coahuiltecan *apel'* 'sky,' Comecrudo *apel* 'sky, clouds, heaven.' Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec *p^{h}uk* 'head,' Jicaque *-p^{h}uk,* Tequistlatec *-hwak.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan *p'o ∼ *p'e* 'head.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa *faka,* Colorado *feːči.* Chimu: Eten *fok* 'upward.' Proto-Choco *pa-hã* 'sky,' Empera *baxa* 'heaven,' Saija *paxa* 'heaven.' Jirajara *pok* 'hill.' Timucua *abo* 'above, up(ward).'

Andean: Aymara *peke* 'head.' Pehuelche *abahai* 'high, tall.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Pakaasnovas *pakun* 'mountain.' Tupi: Tupari *apaba*

'head.' Quechuan: Chinchaysuyu *pexa* 'head.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Huari: Huari *ananu-pui* 'heaven.' Iranshe *poku* 'go up.' Puinave: Papury *poχ* 'above, heaven,' Hubde *po* 'sky,' Tiquie *bui.* Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **bu(-ʔi)* 'up,' Tucano *bu-ʔi,* Guanano *bu,* Waikina *pui* 'upon,' Coreguaje *suka-pue* 'heaven,' etc.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Macusi *-epoi,* Trio *epoe,* Wayana *-po,* etc. Witoto: Witoto *afei-ne* (cf. *tuiri-ne* 'below'), Muinane *ipo* 'head,' Ocaina *oːʔfo* 'head.'

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Chulupi *apeː* 'action above' (Susnik 1968: 48), Mataco *-pe, pa.* Moseten *fan(-če)* (*-če* is a locative marker, cf. *tas-če* 'in front of'). Panoan: Panobo *buespa,* Shipibo *bušiki,* Mayoruna *abo* 'heaven.' Proto-Tacanan **ba.*

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pok, pawi* 'high.' Chiquito *ape, y-aːpi* 'up,' *ape-z* 'heaven.' Fulnio *efua, fua, foa* 'hill.' Kaingang: Kaingang *apare* 'head.' Mashakali *apoxo, pokox* 'heaven,' *pæpiː* 'up.' Opaie *pi* 'heaven.'

• [A2] Many of these forms show ALLATIVE *-k*: Cf. Hidatsa *apahi* 'heaven,' Chitimacha *pokta* 'heaven, cloud,' Empera *baxa* 'heaven,' Papury *poχ* 'above, heaven,' Mashakali *apoxo* 'heaven.'

3 ABOVE$_3$ **araka*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: ?Tuscarora *rãhy* 'sky.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *kaṛak*^{w}*a* 'up.'

Andean: Qawasqar *arka(u)* 'above,' *arqa* 'get up,' *arqa-tas* 'above, on top.' Aymara *arqa, arya.* Proto-Quechuan **urqu* 'mountain,' Santiagueño *orqo* 'mountain,' Cochabamba *orqo* 'hill.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auixiri *a-wareke* 'head.' Tucanoan: Tsöla *rix-foa* 'head,' Tsölöa *rix-hoa* 'head.'

Equatorial: Cayuvava *βarãkame* 'head.' Jivaro: Shuara *arak* 'higher,' Upano *arakani.* Kariri: Dzubucua *arake* 'heaven,' Kamaru *arakie, aranče.* Tupi: Chiripa *rakã* 'head.'

Macro-Ge: Caraja: Javaje *rahah* 'head.'

• [A3]

4 ABOVE$_4$ **q'aɬ*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **q'ɬ-* 'lift, pick up,' Haisla *q'ɬ-* 'lift, pick up, hold,' Kwakwala *q'ɬc'ud* 'lift the baby into a crib.' Proto-Chemakuan **c'ilak'-* 'up, above.'

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **qalːi* 'heaven,' South Pomo *kali* 'heaven, up.' Seri *koɬa* 'upward' (perhaps *k* is not part of the root). Tonkawa *c'el.*

Chibchan: Rama: Rama *ikalniki* 'getting up, standing up.'

Paezan: Allentiac: Millcayac *kelwina* 'go up, come up,' *kleu* 'on top of.'

Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *xuala* 'sky.'

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *kili* 'go up.' Kaingang: Catarina, Tibagi *kri,* Dalbergia *klɛ̃* 'on top.'
• [A147]

5 ABOVE$_5$ **pin*

Penutian: Proto-Maiduan **. . . pin,* Proto-Yokuts **ṭ^{h}ip^{h}in* 'above, up.'
Hokan: Proto-Pomo **wina(ː)* 'on, on top of, above.'
Andean: Mapudungu *wenu-.*

6 ADJECTIVAL/PARTICIPIAL FORMANT **ki*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **-ik* (deverbalizer, inanimate participial).
Hokan: Proto-Hokan: **k^y-* (adjective prefix), Subtiaba *gi-* (passive past participial), Tlappanec *k-* (passive past participial); Seri *ki-* (adjective formant); Esselen *-ki* (adjective formant); Tonkawa *-k* (participial suffix); Pomo: [languages] *k-* (adjective formant).
Andean: ?Mapudungu *-či* (adjectivizer).
Macro-Panoan: Mataco *-ek* (active and passive participial noun formant), Lengua *-k* (forms adjectives from stative verbs); Tacanan: Cavineña *-ke* ∼ *-ki* (adjectival suffix); Panoan: Conibo *-ki* (adjectival suffix).
• [G66]

7 AGAVE **mal*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a)mal^y.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ma.*

8 AGENTIVE$_1$ **-re* ∼ **-ri*

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *-ri*; Puinave: Ubde-Nehern *-re* (agent, active participle).
Equatorial: Zamucoan: Ayoré *-ore*; Kariri *-ri*; Maipuran: Toyeri *-eri.*
• [G60]

9 AGENTIVE$_2$ **ta*

Penutian: California Penutian *tot.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **-ṭA.*
Andean: Mapudungu *-t-.*

10 AGOUTI **kuri*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *kuru,* Choco: Darien, Catio *k^{h}uriwa,* Chami, Tado *k^{h}urihia,* Saija *k^{h}urihiwa.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Carijona, Proto-Taranoan *akuri.*

11 ALL *q'ac

Almosan: Proto-Algic *keSt- ∼ *keSĉ- 'big, much,' *kiːč ∼ *kit- 'complete,' Wiyot *qac* 'be many,' Proto-Algonquian *kiːš- 'finished,' Cree *kiːsi-* 'completing, having done,' Fox *kiːši-* 'completed,' Menomini *keːs-* 'finished, completed'; Kutenai *-qsa-* 'so many'; Proto-Mosan *χʷaː ∼ *xa 'all,' Proto-Salish *q'ʷac' 'full,' *χəc ∼ *χəʔuc 'completed, complete count, four, ready,' Thompson *χc-əp* 'all, become complete, get filled,' Bella Coola *xs*, Upper Chehalis *χʷaqʷ*; Wakashan: Nitinat *χa-* 'fully.'

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Kitsai *akwac.*

Penutian: Tsimshian *ɢa* (plural). Plateau: Klamath *q'a* 'very, extremely,' Nez Perce *q'o(ʔ)* 'very, extremely.' Oregon: Coos *gōs.* Zuni *haši* 'full, full with food.' Gulf: Atakapa *kuš.* Mexican: Tzeltal *k'aš* 'very,' Quiché *k'is* 'finish.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *q'a 'finish.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *ka 'fill, full, fill up,' *ke 'more, much.'

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *-ka* 'completive.'

Equatorial: Jivaro: Achuar *kuša* 'many.'

Macro-Carib: Yagua *kãːsiy* 'finish.'

- [AK4, P3]

12 ALLATIVE (MOTION TOWARD) *-k

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *-okʷ* 'in,' Yurok *-ik* 'in.'

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *kiyah* 'in'; Iroquoian: Seneca *-keh* 'in.'

Penutian: California: Maidu *-k* 'toward,' Wintu *he-ke* 'where?' (cf. *he-noni* 'why?'); Oregon: Siuslaw *taː-k* 'here,' *sqaːk* 'there,' *čiːk* 'where?,' Alsea *k-* (locative on nouns and verbs); Chinook *-k* 'on'; Gulf: Natchez *-kʰ* 'at,' Atakapa *-ki(n)* ∼ *-ke* 'at, in,' Chitimacha *-(n)ki* 'at, in,' Yuki *-k'il* 'toward'; Mexican: Totonac *k-* 'in.'

Hokan: Yuman: [languages] *-k* (motion toward or location in), Seri *(ʔ)ak* (locative); Salinan *k(e)-* (locative before pronominal affixes); Esselen *ki-ki* 'where is he?'; Yana *-ki* 'hither,' *gi* (locative and objective particle); Washo *-(b)uk* 'toward a place' (in verbs of motion); Karok *-(a)k* (locative); Shasta, Atsugewi *-k* (motion toward), Achomawi *-gu* (suffix on verbal nouns to express purpose), *-ig-* 'hither' (in the verbal complex); Chimariko *hu-ak-ta* 'come' (cf. *hu-am-ta* 'go'); Comecrudo *-ak* (directional in adverbs, e.g., *pesen* 'shoulder,' *pesn-ak* 'backward'), ?Tonkawa *ʔok* 'when, as if.'

Chibchan: Cuna *-ki(ne)* 'in, at, by,' Rama *-ki* 'in, on'; Misumalpan: Miskito *-k(u)* (manner or direction of travel, e.g., *awala-k* 'by river').

Paezan: Barbacoa *fa-ka* 'above,' Colorado *feː-či* 'above'; Chimu: Chimu *-ek* 'to,' *-k* (locative postposition), e.g. *sio* 'that,' *sio-k* 'there'), Eten *fo-k*

'upward'; Choco: Empera *ba-xa* 'heaven,' Saija *pa-xa* 'heaven'; Jirajira: Jirajira *po-k* 'hill'; Rama *ki* ∼ *aik* 'to.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *po-ku* 'go up'; Puinave: Papury *po-χ* 'above, heaven.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *po-k* 'high,' Mashakali *apo-xo* ∼ *po-kox* 'heaven.'

• [G45] In several of these forms the allative suffix appears on the lexical item ABOVE *apa-k.*

13 ALONG(SIDE) **no*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-naw* 'alongside.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **-no* 'along, go along.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **no* 'side, shore, bank,' Atakapa *ino* 'side, bank, shore.'

Andean: Mapudungu *inal* 'side, bank.'

14 ALREADY **na*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *naʔ.*

Hokan: Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **na(s).*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **-ña.*

15 ANGRY **ili*

Almosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *χiːla.* Wakashan: Nootka *ħana.*

Penutian: Tsimshian *ʔælax* 'angry, brave.' Plateau: Klamath *qiLoː.*

Chibchan: Rama *yuli-ni* 'anger.'

Paezan: Allentiac: Millcayac *irrim.* Chimu *iri* 'be afraid.' Itonama *yari-ʔna* 'be angry.' Warrau *oriki* 'anger.' Timucua *yuriko* 'be angry, afraid.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *ura* 'angry, fierce.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Surinam *erexko* 'be angry,' Waiwai *rɨwo,* Trio *əire* 'fierce.' Witoto: Witoto *riːe,* Muinane *rɨino* 'strong.'

• [A4]

16 ANT$_1$ **tai*

Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *tiy.* Huari: Masaka *diː.* Movima *tuwe.* Puinave: Nadobo *at^{y}oho,* Querari *(n)duɣ(e)e.* Iranshe *iːti.*

Equatorial: Trumai *tay.* Tupi: Guaraní *tahɨi,* Guayaki *taie.*

• [A5]

17 ANT$_2$ **cakon*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **siːʔi.*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **c–k,* Oregon: Siuslaw *caʔk'ic.* Proto-Gulf **icak,* Atakapa *cak*; Muskogean: Choctaw *šũkani.* Mexican: ?Proto-Mayan **sanik*

(metathesis?), Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *cokun*; Huave *čok*; Totonac: Papantla *čakan*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **čiwa-ips(iT)*.

Central Amerind: Uto-Aztecan: M 5 (no reconstruction), Tarahumara *sikuwi*, Varohio *sekwi*, Mejicano Azteco *aːska-t*.

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **isə*, Kagaba *isa*, Atanque *iče*, Bintucua *izö*. Proto-Chibcha **ice*, Chibcha *ice*. Guaymi: Gualaca *is*. Lenca: Guajiquero *sizi*, Chilanga *c'ic'i*. Talamanca: Terraba *son-gwo*, Bribri *ca(-vak)*, *ša(-vak)*, etc. Yanoama: Yanomam *šiho*. ?Tarascan *šɨṛuki*.

Andean: Quechua: Cochabamba *čʰaka*. Patagon: Tehuelche *čakon*.

Equatorial: Jivaro: Achuar *čayũ* 'anteater.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *šikiʔi* 'anteater,' Movima *čiheɬ*, Muniche *šiwi* 'anteater.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **icisi* 'ant,' *ṣaʔï* 'anteater.'

- [A5, A6]

18 ANT$_3$ **pic'u*

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **pɨc'ɨː*.

Chibchan: Rama *pas* 'rain ant.'

Paezan: Proto-Choco **picuma*.

19 ANT$_4$ **kaci*

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kʰaši*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *it-kʸaci*, Muniche *kïçada*.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *kočirima* 'anteater.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **nakʷaṣï*.

20 ANT$_5$ **tapu*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **tʰapuda* 'anteater.'

Equatorial: Tupi: Tupi *taebihi*, Kawahib *taəp*, Pawate *tabuni*. Timote: Cuica *cipa*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **tapi-tapi*, Lengua *topili* 'army ant.'

- [E4]

21 ANT$_6$ **bohu*

Paezan: Mura *ibohũ*. Warrau *mu(h)a*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *bohu* 'stinging ant.'

- [CP2]

22 ANTEATER **bɨgo*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **bɨgo*, Tucano, Bara, Tuyuka *bɨko*, De-

sana *bugu*; Puinave: Hubde *bɨg.*
Equatorial: Maipuran: Resigaro *piːgi.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **be(ʔ)i(wi).*

23 ANUS **kuti*

Chibchan: Bintucua *gase*, Borunca *kas* 'ravine.'
Paezan: Paez *kuts.*
Andean: Qawasqar *kioːt-pe*, Gennaken *oqoti*, Yamana *guta* 'hole.'
• [CP3, AN4]

24 APPEAR **laq'^{w}*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **lak^{w}* 'appear in sight,' Proto-Chemakuan **ɬaq'^{w}o* 'eye,' Chemakum *ɬaq'^{w}oː* 'eye,' Quileute *lak^{w}al* 'appear, come out from hiding'; ?Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'^{w}ɬχa* (metathesis?) 'to see something'; Proto-Algonquian **-naːkw* 'be seen.'
Penutian: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **lak^{w}-* 'appear, rise.'
Andean: Qawasqar *luk* 'see,' Yamana *urruksi* 'see,' Proto-Quechuan **riku-* ∼ **rikaː-* 'see,' Cochabamba *ruk* 'see.'
• [AN98]

25 ARM$_1$ **poq*

Penutian: ?Plateau: Nez Perce *waqi-* 'in arms,' Sahaptin *waχalam* 'armpit.' Klamath *weq.*
Hokan: Chimariko *tanpu.* Chumash (general) *pu.* Salinan: San Antonio *puku.* Shasta *ʔaːpxuyʔ* 'shoulder.' Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **ip^{h}ax*, Subtiaba *paχ(puː)*, Tlappanec *pahpu.*
Chibchan: Cuitlatec *pəya, poxya.* Xinca: Yupultepec *pu* 'arm, hand,' Jutiapa *paxa,* Chiquimulilla *pux* 'hand.' Proto-Yanoama **poko* 'arm, branch,' Yanam *poko,* Yanomam *poko,* Yanomamï *poko,* Sanema *poko.*
Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa *pexpex.* Choco: Waunana *piu.* Jirajara: Ayoman *apa(-pušan).* Mura: Mura *apixi, apiæ,* Matanawi *api-yi.*
Andean: Culli *pui* 'hand,' Itucale *bixi* ∼ *bihi* 'hand,' Cahuapana: Jebero *-pi* 'action with palm.' Leco *bueu* 'hand,' *biui* 'finger,' Patagon: Tehuelche *paye* 'hand,' Sabela: Auca *po* 'hand, times.'
Equatorial: Guahibo *-pi* 'hand,' Kariri: Dzubucua, Kamaru *bo* 'arm,' Maipuran: Amuesha *apa* 'give,' Apolista *apay* 'give,' Baure *(ni-)po* 'I give,' Toyeri *mpe* 'hand,' *upi* 'arm,' Proto-Tupi **po* 'hand,' Tupi *po,* Guarani *po,* Guayaqui *i-pa,* Kaapor *n-po,* Cocama *puwa,* Kepkeriwat *ba.* Yuracare *popo* 'hand.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **pikʔ* 'hand,' Kithãulhu *hʔikʔ,* Mamainde *hikʔ,* Sabane *piː(p).*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Surinam *apoː-ri,* Tamanaco *y-apa-ri,* Pauishana *y-ape,*

etc. Witoto: Coeruna *ko-ipai.*

Macro-Panoan: Charruan: Charrua *is-bax.* Proto-Guaicuruan **abːaq* 'hand,' Toba *waq,* Mocovi *(a)waʔ,* Kadiweu *bːaː-.* Mataco: Payagua *iva(-čaga)* 'shoulder.' Moseten *bibi* 'elbow.' Panoan: Cashibo *ba-* 'elbow' (instrumental prefix), *baboṣo* 'elbow,' Chacobo *baṣ̌-* 'elbow, forearm' (instrumental prefix). Proto-Tacanan **e-bai.*

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *i-pa.* Erikbatsa *-čipa.* Proto-Ge **pa.* Guato *(ma-)po.* Kaingang: Apucarana *pe,* Tibagi *pen.* Opaie *(či-)pe.*

• [A7]

26 ARM$_2$ **k^{w}ana*

Almosan: Algonquian: Blackfoot *kin(-ists)* 'hand.' Kutenai *kin* 'by hand.' Proto-Mosan **-k^{w}anu-* ∼ *kaː* 'hand,' Proto-Salish **-áχan,* Kalispel *aχən,* Okanagan *-aqan,* Wakashan: Kwakwala *-xaina* 'shoulder.'

Penutian: Tunica *hkeni* 'hand,' Chitimacha *ʔokun* 'shoulder,' Sayula *konik* 'carry on the shoulder.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **k^{w}a(h)n* 'left hand,' Pame *kan'a* 'hand,' Otomi *xí'nyí* 'shoulder.'

Chibchan: Guaymi: Murire *kana,* Proto-Aruak **gunə,* Bintucua *guna* 'arm, hand,' Guamaca *guna,* Atanque *guna* 'hand.'

Paezan: Chimu *aken.*

Andean: Ona *haken,* Tehuelche *aken* 'shoulder blade,' Simacu *kanúxua* 'shoulder,' Selknam *k'oyyn* 'shoulder,' Mapudungu *kũ* 'hand.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Särä *axkono* 'shoulder,' Uaiana *akono* 'shoulder, armpit,' Omoa *naxkono* 'shoulder.'

Equatorial: Maipuran: Piro *kano,* Parecis *-kano-,* Canamari *kano* 'shoulder,' Timote *-kiñem* 'hand,' Mocochi *kiñien* 'hand,' Tinigua *kwana* 'hand,' Trumai *kanap* 'hand.'

Macro-Carib: Miranya *gano-aga* 'hand,' *gano-múhteː* 'armpit,' Coeruna *kunia* 'hand.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **mï-kïnï* 'hand,' Lengua *kanyama* 'armpit.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *kana* 'upper arm, wing' Camican *guangäni,* Botocudo *kinaon* 'shoulder,' Opaie *(či-)kã* 'shoulder.'

• [A16] This root is also found in Khoisan, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic,Indo-European, Uralic, Dravidian, Dene-Caucasian, Indo-Pacific, and Daic (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

27 ARM$_3$ **noq'* ∼ **neq'*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **neɬk-,* Northern Arapaho *nes,* Shawnee *neʔki*; Yurok *-rkow* 'armpit'; Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum, Quileute *(hiː-)naq(-sit)*; Salish: Squamish *naqč*; Wakashan: Nootka *n'ok^w* 'hand,' *ink^w* 'at, on the hand.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Northern Iroquoian **nẽtsh-*, Seneca *nẽsha,* Mohawk *nə̃č,* Cherokee *-noge.*

Penutian: Tsimshian: Nass *næiq* 'fin.' Plateau: Nez Perce *nik-eː-* 'act with the hand,' *nikeːk* 'draw back a bow,' *nikː-* 'hand' (instrumental prefix), Klamath *n'iq* 'act with the hand.' Gulf: Atakapa *nok* 'arm, wing'; Muskogean: Creek *enkeː* 'hand.' Yukian: Wappo *nɔk'o* (Radin), *nokha* (Sawyer) 'armpit.'

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **(o)nãĩʔk-.*

- [A8]

28 ARM$_4$ **k^{w}ala*

Hokan: Yana *galu,* Southeast Pomo *xal.*

Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca *gula.* Guaymi: Gualaca *kula* 'hand.' Lenca: Guajiquero *gwala* 'hand,' Opatoro *gulala* 'hand.' Misumalpan: Cacaopera *kari-ka.* Paya *kara* 'arm, shoulder.'

Paezan: Paez: Totoro, Guambiana *kwal.* Choco: Catio *ekara* 'shoulder.'

Equatorial: Uro: Chipaya *k'ara* 'hand, arm,' Caranga *k^{x}ara* 'hand.'

- [H5, CP4]

29 ARMADILLO **pema*

Andean: Puelche *hema.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *pima.* Proto-Tucanoan **pãmũ.*

Macro-Panoan: Lengua *paimaŋ.*

30 ARRIVE **wila*

Penutian: Bodega *wila* 'come!,' Kekchí *uli,* Yakonan *wīl.*

Hokan: Achomawi *uilu* 'enter,' Yahi *wul* 'entering.'

- [P8, H49]

31 ARROW **mã*

Almosan: Kutenai *wo* 'bow'; Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *pa* 'bow.'

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Caddo *baʔ*; Proto-Siouan **mã.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *amiuʔu* 'thorn,' Puinave: Papury, Tiquie *mu,* Tucano: Siona *mio* 'thorn,' Pioje *miu-ñangka* 'thorn.'

Macro-Ge: Opaie *mãa, mãe.* Yabuti: Mashubi *mu.*

- [A10]

32 ASHES **pok(-us)* ∼ **pul*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **penkwi.* Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *puʔuːsč'it,* Quileute *puxusu.*

Penutian: California: Wintun *puːk.* Gulf: Tunica *hahpuši*; Natchez *pokah*

'make dusty'; Muskogean: Hitchiti *poːk* 'pulverize,' Choctaw *muki* 'smoke, dust.' Mexican: Totonac *puʔqš-ni*; Mayan: Proto-Mayan (C) **po(:)k-os* 'dust,' **poqs* 'dust.'

Hokan: Pomo: Northeast Pomo *mal.* Seri *emaɣ* (Kroeber), *anti-mak* (Moser) (*anti* = 'earth'). Shasta *ma(h)awa* 'dust, ashes.' Yana *mari-p'a* 'covered with ashes.' Yuman: Kiliwa *muwag* 'powder,' Cocopa *mwaːr* 'powder,' etc.

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *muli,* Guamaca *bun.* Guaymi: Muoi *mono.* Lenca: Guajiquero *poggo.* Malibu: Chimila *mukne.* Motilon: Barira *emukn.* Rama *pluŋ.* Xinca: Yupultepec *maɬi,* Chiquimulilla *mali.*

Equatorial: Esmeralda *(mu-)bul* (*mu* = 'fire'). Jivaro: Aguaruna *pušuĵin.* Kandoshi *poša-či.* Zamuco: Chamacoco *peica.* Cf. Timote: Timote, Cuica *nabuš.*

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Mataco *(itax-)mok* 'ashes' (= '[fire-] powder'), Suhin *mak* 'dust, powder,' Vejoz *muk* 'dust, flour.' Moseten *čim* (probably cognate with Tacana *e-timu* in which *ti* = 'fire' and *mu* < **muru* 'ashes'). Proto-Tacanan **muru,* Chama *kwaki-maxo* (*kwaki* = 'fire').

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pram* 'charcoal.' Proto-Ge **mrɔ(c),* Kaingang: Apucarana *mreye,* Tibagi *brene, mrene.*

• [A11]

33 ASK$_1$ **maca*

Andean: Cahuapana *muča.* Quechua: Santiagueño, Ecuadorean, etc. *maska* 'seek.' Yamana: Yahgan *amušu* 'ask for.' Zaparo: Iquito *masəː-yaː.*

Macro-Carib: Bora: Miranya *miče* ∼ *meĵe* 'wish,' Yagua: Yagua *amaseo* 'greedy,' Yameo *basei* 'wish.'

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Lengua *math-,* Mascoy *mac-.* Panoan: Panobo *mašai* 'pray.'

• [A12]

34 ASK$_2$ **tempa*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 12 **tep* 'ask.'

Equatorial: Cayuvava *dopa* 'wish,' Guahibo *itomba* 'I wish,' Maipuran: Baniva *nu-sapeta* 'I wish,' Bare *sambi* 'wish,' Piaroa: Saliba *ka-indapi* 'seek.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umotina *atabe* 'seek,' Mashakali: Capoxo *(ma-)tema* 'pleasure,' Puri: Puri *tamathi* 'love,' Coroado *tima* 'love.'

• [A13]

35 AUNT **pan*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pa,* Proto-Oto-Manguean **k^{w}a(H)(n).*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **pani* 'sister,' Chinchaysuyu *pani* 'sister' (man

speaking), Santiagueño *pana* 'sister' (man speaking). Tehuelche *epan*, Cholona *pan* 'mother.'

Macro-Panoan: Moseten *pen* 'woman,' Proto-Tacanan **e-pona* 'woman,' **puna* 'woman, girl, daughter, female.'

Macro-Ge: Ge: Krenje *pan-çwo* 'sister-in-law.'

• [CA1, AN9, MP63] For the *-çwo* suffix in the Krenje form see -IN-LAW *-kwa* below.

36 AXE **supa*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *supa* 'chop with an axe.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **ãsepi.*

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **sipa-li-a-.*

37 BACK$_1$ (n.) **iki*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ik.* Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *-ig^y-*; Salish: Thompson *-ik(-ən),* Tillamook *-ič(-ən),* etc. (*-ən* is a body-part suffix).

Macro-Carib: Carib: Macusi *-akə* 'tail,' Pauishana *axke* 'tail.' Witoto *kay* 'tail.'

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Choroti *keyi.* Moseten *eki* 'behind,' *kai* 'kidney.' Panoan: Cashinahua *ka-* 'spine,' Cashibo, Chacobo *ka-.* Tacanan: Huarayo *ekia* 'bird's tail.'

• [A15]

38 BACK$_2$ **mak*

Hokan: Yana *mak'i,* Comecrudo *wamak* 'behind.'

Chibchan: Ulua *umax-ka* 'tail.'

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *meh* 'tail.'

• [H11, CP190]

39 BACK$_3$ **puna*

Paezan: Allentiac *punak* 'behind.' Barbacoan: Colorado *bene* 'behind.'

Macro-Ge: Guato *ipana* 'tail,' Apucarana *pani,* Bororo *i-puru.*

• [CP14, MG5]

40 BAD$_1$ **kalen*

Hokan: Chimariko *xuli.* Karok: Karok *ka:rim,* Arra-Arra *karip.* Tonkawa *kalan* 'curser.' Yuman: Yavapai *kalepi,* Campo *kaʎev.*

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *eklek* 'ugly,' *krang* 'hateful.' Kaingang: Tibagi *kore,* Palmas *korende.*

• [A17] Cf. BLACK$_2$.

41 BAD$_2$ **čaka*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot: Wiyot, Wishosk *saks.* Kutenai *sahan*; Mosan: Wakashan: Bella Bella *sχ.*

Keresiouan: Siouan: Assiniboin *čexi,* Mandan *xik,* Winnebago *šišika,* Dakota *šiča.*

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Macca *usax.* Moseten *seki.* Panoan: Chacobo *šɨkɨ,* Capanahua *šakabo,* Cashinahua *čakabo.* Tacanan: Tacana *čiki* 'plague.'

• [A18]

42 BAD$_3$ **q'ac*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **k'ays,* Proto-North Wakashan **χas-* 'go bad, rot.'

Penutian: Chinook *q'ačal* 'badness,' Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **k^{h}ask^{h}a,* Tfalatik *qasq,* Kalapuya *kasq*; Plateau: Lutuami *qoic,* Klamath *q'oy* 'badly,' Modoc *qoi*; Proto-Gulf **kace* 'ugly,' Coast Yuki *kačim,* Huchnom *kačem,* Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k'a* 'bad, nasty,' Atakapa *kace* 'ugly'; Mayan: Yuca *qas,* Itza *qas.*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **k^{h}ačia.*

• [P12]

43 BARK (v.) **wok*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *wɔʔk^{w}a,* Heiltsuk *wak'pa,* Haisla *waka.*

Penutian: California *wax* 'cry,' *woʔo* 'howl,' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **wVk* 'cry,' Proto-Yokuts **waːxal* 'cry,' Proto-Maiduan **woʔo(ː)* 'howl,' **woh* 'cry'; Zuni *wawawa* 'cry'; Proto-Gulf **woːhk, *woːha* 'howl,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **we*; Proto-Mixe-Zoque **woh.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan: **wo* 'cry,' **wo-wo* 'bark.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **woʔ.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **waqa-* 'cry.'

• This is clearly a sound symbolic word, in which the sounds imitate the meaning, thus violating the arbitrary sound/meaning correlation that characterizes most words. However, the fact that a given root is sound symbolic does not mean that it carries no historical information because, while Amerind dogs went 'wok,' current dogs go 'bark,' and dogs in other language families have different forms, all onomatopoeic.

44 BATHE **puk*

Penutian: California: Yokuts *eːp^{h}i* 'bathe, swim'; Maidu *pe* ∼ *py* ∼ *pi* 'swim'; Miwok: Central Sierra *ʔüp(-šü),* Bodega *pačče* 'rinse.' Gulf: Atakapa *pac* 'wash'; Tunica *ʔahpu*; Chitimacha *yuːp^h*; Muskogean: Alabama *abox* 'wash.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *puh* 'wash'; Mayan: Tzotzil *pok* 'wash,' Huastec *pakul* 'wash,' Kekchí *puč'* 'wash.' Oregon: Takelma *p'agai.*

Plateau: Klamath *pew* 'bathe, swim.'

Hokan: Achomawi: Achomawi *ehpa*, Atsugewi *-ap-* 'swim.' Chimariko *-xu:-* 'swim.' Karok *ik-puh* 'swim' (sing. subject), *ith-puh* 'swim' (dual subject). Shasta *k*^{w}*ī:puk*^{w} 'swim, bathe.' Tequistlatec *(di-)bo(-ʔma).* Yana *pu:* 'swim.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Kaliana *pə* 'swim.' Tucano *ba* 'swim' (general, except in Western Tucanoan).

• [A20]

45 BE$_1$ **upi*

Equatorial: Kariri: Dzubucua *pi* 'dwell.' Otomaco: Otomaco *upo* 'live,' Taparita *ipe* 'he is.'

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Vejoz, Choroti *pa* 'sit,' Nocten *papa* 'sit!' Moseten *bei* 'be, sit, live.' Panoan: Chacobo *ubia* 'there is.' Tacanan: Chama *baʔe* 'live at, remain.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umotina *bo.* Kaingang: Tibagi *be* 'happen.' Kamakan [phuih] 'live.' Puri: Coropo *pa* 'have,' Coroado *bay* 'live.'

• [A21]

46 BE$_2$ **(a)t'a*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **-a:t* 'way of being, character'; Kutenai *-aʔt-* 'have'; Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *ti* 'have'; Wakashan: Kwakwala *-ad* 'have.'

Keresiouan: Siouan: Biloxi *ta* 'have,' Biloxi *ite* 'have,' Mandan *tu* 'be.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *t'a* 'sit.' Oregon: Siuslaw *tai* 'sit,' *ti* 'sit.' Plateau: Klamath *č-* 'sit (sing. subject),' Lutuami *ci* 'sit.' California: Miwok: Central Sierra *toʔ(-nge)* 'sit down,' Northern Sierra *uču* 'stay.' Gulf: Atakapa *to* 'sit,' Chitimacha *tey* 'sit (sing.),' *ten* 'sit (pl.)' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sayula *it* 'exist,' Zoque *iht* 'live.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *t'a* 'stay, live,' Tewa *tha:* 'stay, live.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 69 **(Y)ta(h)(n)* 'be in a place, be seated.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *ta-i, te-i* 'be in a place,' Guamaca *te.* Cuitlatec *ahti* 'sit.' Guaymi: Move *ta.* Malibu: Chimila *ate.* Misumalpan: Cacaopera *da.*

Paezan: Allentiac *ti* 'have.' Barbacoa: Cayapa *ti* 'become,' Colorado *ta* 'have.' Paez: Panikita *to.* Warrau *ta.*

Andean: Aymara: Jaqaru *uta,* Aymara *utta* 'sit.' Quechua: Cochabamba, Ecuadorean, etc. *tiya.* Zaparo: Zaparo *ta, ata* ∼ *ati,* Iquito *tə.* Cf. Leco *ten*; Sabela: Tuwituwey *ta* 'stand' (for the semantics cf. Spanish *estar*).

• [A22]

47 BE$_3$ *ʔi

Keresiouan: Wichita *ʔi,* Cherokee *i.*
Macro-Panoan: Mataco *hi,* Mascoy *h-.*
• [AK13, MP9]

48 BE$_4$ *ka

Almosan: Proto-Salish **ka(-n)* 'be, do'; Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'a* 'be somewhere.'
Penutian: Proto-Maiduan **ha,* Proto-Gulf **ka.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ka-.*
• [AN14]

49 BEAR (v.) *ʔa

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *ə(pa).* Ticuna *ʔo* 'bear fruit.'
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi **ʔa.* Zamuco: Zamuco *a,* Ayoré *a:,* Ebidoso *e.*
• [A23]

50 BEARD$_1$ *p'oti

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *mep'oc*; Mosan: Salish: Bella Coola *(sko-)poč,* Shuswap *epeʔs-qn* 'chin,' etc.
Keresiouan: Keresan *-muša-.*
Central Amerind: Uto-Aztecan: M 214 'hair, facial.' Miller comments: "It is difficult to reconstruct a prototype from these words, but perhaps something like **moc, *mos, *mus.*"
Equatorial: Arawa: Paumari *bodi* 'mouth.' Cayuvava *ra-poto.* Guahibo *bixi* 'chin.' Tupi: Guajajara *amutai,* Cocama *muta.* Yuracare *pose.*
• [A24]

51 BEARD$_2$ *tuk

Hokan: Chimariko *cu(-na)* 'chin,' Chumash: San Luis Obispo *suks* 'beard.' Jicaque *sek* 'chin.' Karok *šva:k* 'chin.' Shasta *č'awa:k* 'chin, jaw.' Tonkawa *tax'akan* 'chin, jaw.' Yana *d^{z}awdc'i* 'chin.' Yuman: Mohave *ya-tukuθa* 'chin,' (*ya* = 'mouth'), Tipai *tekesa* 'chin.'
Andean: Qawasqar *af-sayok.* Aymara: Lupaca *sunk^{h}a.* Patagon: Tsoneka *šeken* 'chin,' Tehuelche *a:šg.* Zaparo: Iquito *mo-šiga.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *čaga.* Puinave: Tiquie *čuɣn,* Dou *šugn.* Cf. Ticuna *čin.*
• [A25]

52 BEE$_1$ *pana

Andean: Mayna *wane* 'honey.' Zaparo: Zaparo *iwana* 'honey,' Iquito *iwuana*

'honey.' Yamana *wi:na* 'flies.'

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Vejoz *pinu,* Mataco *apina* 'mosquito,' Choroti *wona* 'wasp.' Panoan: Cashinahua *buna,* Cashibo *wuna* 'honey,' Amahuaca *wina* 'bee, wasp.' Proto-Tacanan **wini* 'wax,' Chama *wini* 'bee, honey.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pã* 'bee, honey.' Proto-Ge **meñ* 'bee, honey.' Kaingang: Dalbergia *mong* 'bee, honey,' Palmas *mãng* 'bee, honey,' etc. Mashakali: Macuni *pang* 'honey.' Opaie *peg* 'honey.'

• [A26]

53 BEE$_2$ **mumu*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **amoa.* Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute, Chemakum *mu:mu:ma*; Salish: Siciatl *ma:malwe.*

Penutian: California: Costanoan: Santa Cruz, etc. *mumuru* 'fly' (pl.). Gulf: Natchez *mom*; Chitimacha *(hih)mu*; Atakapa *miŋ, muŋ.* Mexican: Huave *muam*; Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *omon* 'fly.' Plateau: Klamath *mem,* Molala *mumu-s* 'fly,' Lutuami *maŋk* 'fly.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **mum* 'fly,' Esselen *mumirux* 'fly' (pl.) Salinan: San Antonio *lmém'* 'bees, wasps,' San Miguel *lemém'* 'bees, wasps.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 31 **mumu, *meme* 'bee,' M 180 **mu* 'fly.'

Chibchan: Rama *mumum* 'cattle fly.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucano: Sara *momia,* Tucano *mumi,* Wanana *mĩ,* etc. 'bee, honey.' Maku *mime.*

• [A27] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

54 BEHIND$_1$ **(a)pi*

Hokan: Achomawi *ippi* 'tail.' Comecrudo *ep* 'tail.' Karok *apvu:y* 'tail.' Pomo: Kashaya *hiba* 'tail,' Central Pomo, Southeast Pomo *ba* 'tail.' Quinigua *apino* 'deer's tail.' Seri *ʔi:p* 'tail.' Tequistlatec *ifpo* 'tail.' Washo *ap'ɨl* 'tail.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Tewa *pu.* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pi.*

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba-Guazu *vi* 'back, side.' Lule *va.* Mataco: Choroti *pe.* Moseten *abia* 'afterward.' Tacanan: Tacana *be-* 'back.'

• [A28]

55 BEHIND$_2$ **ini*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *hinoy*; Kutenai *iɬ* (*ɬ* < **n.*)

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Cherokee *ōni.*

Equatorial: Cayuvava *eñe* 'tail,' Paresi *inihu* 'tail,' Saliba *inea* 'tail.'

• [AK19, E110]

56 BELLY$_1$ **kate*

Macro-Tucanoan: Maku *gote.* Tucano: Erulia, Tsoloa, Palanoa *geda,* Siona *kata-mea* 'guts' (*mea* = 'rope').

Equatorial: Chapacura *ketet* 'bosom.' Guahibo *pe-kototo, koto* 'abdomen.' Maipuran: Karutana *kuta* 'chest,' Chiriana *kuda* 'chest.' Piaroa: Saliba *iktebo* 'intestines,' *iktego* 'guts.' Timote: Mocochi *kito.* Uro *keto.* Zamuco: Ebidoso *xoto.*

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Pilaga *kiːkate* 'heart,' Toba-Guazu *kidiakate* 'heart.' Mataco: Chulupi *kači* 'heart.' Moseten *koči* 'heart.' Vilela *gose* 'heart.'

Macro-Ge: Erikbatsa *kaše.* Ge: Geico *aeyussi* 'breast.' Mashakali: Macuni *inkiča* 'heart,' Malali *akešo* 'heart.' Puri: Coropo *kše* 'inside.'

• [A29]

57 BELLY$_2$ **pali* ∼ **pani*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *apani* 'lungs'; Mosan: Salish: Columbian *pənink.*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Caddo [ben-no], *da-bina*; Siouan: Catawba *-pã.*

Penutian: Tsimshian *ban.* Chinook *wan.* Oregon: Takelma *p'aːn* 'liver.' Plateau: Klamath *balla* 'liver.' Zuni *pali* 'liver.' Mexican: Totonac *paːn*; Mayan: Kakchiquel *pan,* Pokomchi *pam.*

Chibchan: Guaymi: Move *bule.* Lenca: Guajiquero *palan* 'chest.' Malibu: Chimila *muːna* 'chest.' Misumalpan: Miskito *biara.* Yanoama: Yanomamï *bariki* 'chest,' Yanam, Yanomam *parɨk* 'chest.'

Paezan: Itonama *uh-bunu* 'abdomen.' Warrau *obono.*

Andean: Mapudungu *ponon* 'lungs.' Patagon: Ona *panhe, pahank* 'guts.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **pil* 'liver.' Puinave: Tiquie *pedn.* Tucano: Wanana *paro,* Desana *paru.*

Equatorial: Kariri *biro* 'belly.' Maipuran: Passe *pori* 'navel,' Siusi *pure* 'navel,' Karif *bare* 'navel,' Uainuma *pare* 'heart.' Tupi: Shipaya *parua* 'belly,' Arikem *pera* 'navel,' Guayaki *punua* 'navel,' *purua* 'navel,' etc.

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umotina *upuru* 'thorax.' Fulnio *epatio* 'upper abdomen.' Ge: Apinage *pitãn* 'body,' Crengez *patu* 'belly, chest.' Kaingang: Serra do Chagu *(idfe-)paro* 'chest.' Puri: Coroado *puara* 'chest.'

• [A30]

58 BELLY$_3$ **mat*

Andean: Itucale *maudi.* Cahuapana: Cahuapana *mötpï.* Mayna *(ana-)muto* 'navel.'

Equatorial: Katembri *mudo.* Kariri: Dzubucua *mudu.* Tupi: Digüt *bata, mata* 'chest.' Zamuco: Tumraha *pa-mat.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Palmella *mate* 'chest, breast,' Cumanogoto *matir* 'chest,' Tamanaco *matiri* 'chest.' Yagua *mt^{y}a* 'chest.'
• [A31]

59 BELLY$_4$ **to*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 81 **tuʔ* 'breast, milk.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 417 **to* 'stomach.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Nahugua *utevui,* Maiongom *ido-re* 'chest,' Galibi *ida, eta* 'inside.' Witoto: Nonuya [odoh].
Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Komlek *-tovi* 'chest,' Mocovi [otogue] *otowe* 'chest.' Mataco: Choroti *teowe* 'inside,' Towothli *-towi* 'inside, belly.' Proto-Tacanan **du-* 'inside, deep.'
Macro-Ge: Fulnio *diua* 'intestines.' Ge: Krenje *tu,* Suya *tiu,* Cayapo *tu.* Kaingang: Dalbergia *du, dun,* Guarapurava *indu* 'stomach.' Mashakali: Patasho *e-tæ.* Opaie *(či-)ta* 'chest, belly.' Oti *etiu.*
• [A32]

60 BELLY$_5$ **si*

Keresiouan: Acoma *(ka-)si* 'breast,' Hidatsa *aci* 'breast,' (< **a-si*).
Central Amerind: Tanoan: Tewa *sī,* Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)(ʔ)se(h)(n),* Mono *sihi* 'intestines,' Opata *siwa-t.*
• [AK33, CA4]

61 BEND/KNEE/ELBOW/BOW (n.) **poq'-os* ∼ **c'e-puq'*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **wāk-* 'bend,' Blackfoot *woxos* 'shin' (from an earlier meaning of 'knee,' as seen in Maidu *pok'ósi*). Wakashan: Bella Bella *wak-* 'bent.'
Keresiouan: Siouan: Crow *išbaxe* 'elbow,' Hidatsa *išpaḥi* 'elbow.' Caddoan: Caddo *buko* 'knee.'
Penutian: Tfalatik *pɔsq* 'bow' (with metathesis, from earlier **pɔqVs*), Kalapuya *oposqʊ* 'bow' (with metathesis), Plateau: Klamath *spoq'allaɢa* 'bends, coils,' Proto-Maiduan **p'ok'os* 'knee,' Maidu *pok'ósi* 'knee,' Nisenan *p'əkkasi* 'elbow,' Zuni *poʔku* 'to fold,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **p'ɔ* 'fold,' Proto-Mayan **paʔk* 'fold (v.),' Pokomchi *bak* 'crooked,' Mixe-Zoque: Texistepec *boka* 'elbow,' Sierra Popoluca *pikši* 'bow,' Mixe *kupokš* 'elbow.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **Paχu* 'bow (n.),' Shasta *ʔičipka* 'knee,' Achomawi *lupuʔisi* 'bow,' Walapai *mipuk* 'knee,' *phúʔ* 'bow,' Tipai *mipok* 'knee,' Chumash *sibuk* ∼ *šipuk* 'elbow,' Santa Barbara *sibuk* 'elbow,' Santa Cruz *šipuk* 'elbow
Central Amerind: Varohia *čopokori* 'knee.'
Chibchan: Guamaca *buka* 'knee, elbow,' Rama *buk* 'twist,' Atanque *buküh-*

köna 'knee.' Aruak: Guamaca *buka* 'elbow, knee.'

Paezan: Warrao *oboka* 'elbow,' Colorado *te-bunga* 'elbow,' Cayapa *ne-bumbuka* 'knee,' Chimu *č'epuk* 'knee.'

Andean: Jebero *pöktenya* 'bow,' Ona *epekten* 'elbow,' Qawasqar *kolpakar* 'knee.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *poku* 'bow (n.),' Proto-Nambikwara **pokʔ* 'bow (n.).'

Equatorial: Arawa: Paumari *amabokoi* 'elbow,' Zamuco: Guarañoca *pokà* 'bow,' Guahibo: Cuiva *tabóko* 'knee,' Proto-Maipuran **(ta-)po* 'bow (n.),' Palicur *ubowɣi* 'knee,' Karif *bugunuge* 'elbow.'

Macro-Carib: Miranha *thüboqua* 'bow,' Apiaca *topkat* 'bow.'

Macro-Panoan: Mayoruna *mupukušau* 'elbow,' Panobo *waʔpuško* 'elbow' (with metathesis), Sapiboca *embako* 'elbow,' Tiatinagua *waku* 'elbow.'

Macro-Ge: Mohačobm *pokai* 'bow,' Umotina *boika* 'bow,' Bororo *boiga* 'bow,' Opaie *či-pege-ri* 'elbow.'

• This root is also found in Niger-Kordofanian, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Indo-Pacific and Australian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

62 BIG **pala*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **w'aːlaː*, Proto-Algic **pel.*

Penutian: Proto-Kalapuyan **pala.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pa(l^{y})* ∼ *pe(L)* 'much.'

Paezan: Barbacoan *wala.*

63 BIRD$_1$ **c'ik(c'ik)* ∼ *c'uk(c'uk)*

Almosan: Proto-Central Algonquian **šīšīpa* 'duck, fowl, large bird'; Kutenai *c'oːc'oː*; Proto-Salish **c'ix^{w}* ∼ **c'əx^{w}* 'fishhawk, osprey'; Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan **c'ik^{w}*, Kwakwala *c'ik'^{w}*, Bella Bella *cicipe.*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *čiʔnə̃ʔ.*

Penutian: Proto-Tsimshian **c'uːc'*, Proto-Penutian **cik* 'small bird,' Proto-Yokuts *č'ax* 'blackbird,' Gulf: Proto-Northern Yuki **č'əʔəy* 'bluejay,' Wappo *č'akh* 'redwing blackbird,' Chitimacha *č'ekt* 'redwing blackbird,' Atakapa *cok* 'blackbird,' Natchez *cokkop* 'blackbird'; Proto-Mayan **ših-Vk* 'hawk,' Proto-Quichean **c'ikin*; Proto-Mixe-Zoque **suʔksu(k)* 'hummingbird.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **č'iy* 'bird,' **c'oːq'* ∼ **č'oːq'* ∼ **č^{w}uːKV* 'yellowhammer,' **čokVː* 'oriole, yellowhammer, blackbird,' Proto-Pomo **c'ihta.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **ce-* 'eagle.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **čip,* Quechua *cikci* 'bat,' Gennaken *čexčux* 'bat,' Qawasqar *c'aq^{h}a* 'heron.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *šik^{y}aʔẽ* 'hawk.'

Macro-Panoan: **ṣokï.*

- [AK22, AN12]

64 BIRD$_2$ *p'išk'u

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *piːškwa 'nighthawk,' waːpaʔšakiwa 'heron,' Proto-Salish *pisaʔ 'small animal, bird,' Proto-Interior Salish wisχ ~ ʕ^{w}isχ 'robin,' Proto-Coast Salish p'əṣk'a 'hummingbird.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *wiːsk'a 'robin.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *wici.

Paezan: Barbacoan: Cayapa pišku, Colorado picu; Paez βihča ~ βičakwe; Proto-Choco *ĩpisu 'hummingbird.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *pišqu, Cuzqueño p'isku, Ayacucho pisk'o, Chinchaysuyu p'isku, Ancash piško, Quiteño pišku; Zaparo pišiaka; Culli pič.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *bĩ-zĩ/ʔa; Iranshe pešĩši 'hummingbird.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *βičo 'heron,' *pico 'parakeet, small parrot,' *pisa 'small toucan'; Proto-Tacanan *pica ~ piǰa 'toucan.'

65 BITE$_1$ (v.) *kua

Almosan: Kutenai -χa- 'action with teeth'; Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala -(s)x^{y}a 'tooth' (-s- only after vowels).

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Mohawk, Oneida k- 'eat'; Keresan: Santa Ana kʊ.

Penutian: Tsimshian q'ai. Plateau: Klamath g^w-. California: Miwok: Bodega kawwu; Costanoan: Rumsien ka 'eat.' Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec ko 'tooth,' Quiché ka 'tooth.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa k'ɔ. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 132 *ku 'swallow, stomach, bite.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 152d *ku, *ko 'eat,' M 84 *ko 'chew.' Cf. Tanoan: Kiowa k'ɔ 'knife,' Jemez k'i 'sharp.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca kaka 'tooth.' Chibcha: Chibcha ka 'eat,' Margua ko 'eat.' Cuitlatec ehka. Malibu: Chimila koko 'swallow.' Misumalpan: Sumu, Matagalpa ka. Motilon: Dobocubi ko, koa 'food.' Paya ki: 'tooth.' Rama: Guatuso oka 'teeth.' Talamanca: Bribri iku, Chiripo, Estrella, etc. ka 'tooth.' Yanoama (general) koa 'drink.'

Paezan: Betoi xoki 'tooth.' Choco: Catio, Saija ko 'eat.' Mura: Mura kau(-assa) 'eat.' Paez koya 'food.' Timucua ukwa 'eat.'

Andean: Aymara: Jaqaru aka. Itucale ki 'eat.' Cahuapana kaki 'eat.' Sabela kæ̃i 'bite!,' -ga 'tooth.' Zaparo: Iquito ka 'tooth.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auake ake 'tooth.' Auixiri aka 'tooth.' Catuquina he, hi 'tooth.' Huari: Masaka kaukæwi. Iranshe kã̃ka. Kaliana ka 'tooth.' Movima kaiki 'eat.' Puinave: Papury koχyöi, Puinave ko(e)hei. Tucano: Coto uxe 'tooth.' Cf. Ticuna či 'sting.'

Macro-Carib: Bora: Miranya me-ikoi 'bite.' Carib: Surinam eːka 'eat,' Taulipang eku 'eat,' Waiwai oku 'eat bread.' Witoto: Witoto eka 'feed,' kaɨ 'to gnaw,' Muinane eka 'feed,' Ocaina ʔoːxo 'eat,' oxoːxa 'food.'

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Guachi *iːk* 'eat,' Mocovi *kee* 'eat,' Abipone *l-aka* 'food.' Lule *kai.* Mataco: Choroti *okie* 'bite,' Vejoz *okua* 'bite.' Panoan: Cashibo *ko* 'eat,' Cashinahua, Marinahua *kɨyu* 'bite,' Caripuna *kɨ* 'bite.' Proto-Tacanan **ika* 'eat,' **ikia* 'eat, bite.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *kö* 'eat.' Caraja *ki* 'eat.' Proto-Ge **ku* 'eat,' **kur* 'eat.' Kaingang *ko* 'eat.' Kamakan: Cotoxo, Meniens *kua* 'eat.' Yabuti: Mashubi *ko* 'eat,' *či-koko* 'bite.'

• [A33]

66 BITE$_2$ (v.) **tak*

Macro-Tucanoan: Koaia *toko* 'tongue, tooth.' Puinave: Curiariai *taki* 'eat,' Marahan *tog* 'tooth,' Parana Boaboa *i-tig* 'tooth.' Yuri *ča-tikou* (Wallace), *su-seko* 'tooth' (Spix).

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Kaskiha *-takse-.* Mataco: Choroti *-tek* 'prick,' Vejoz *čak* 'stab.' Moseten *icaksi.* Panoan: Panobo *tuku-i* 'chew.' Proto-Tacanan **tekwa* 'pierce, kill.'

• [A34]

67 BITTER$_1$ **pe(s)q'* ~ **p'o(s)q'*

Almosan: Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *p'eq* 'rotten,' Bella Bella *p'eqa* 'rotten'; Salish: Musqueam *məsən* 'gall, rotten.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **p'a,* Biloxi *paxka* 'sour'; Yuchi *paka.*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *m'eq'* (v.) 'sour,' Tsimshian: Nass *mæx* 'sour.'

Hokan: Tequistlatec *imagi* 'ripe.' Yuman: Maricopa, Walapai *mak* 'ripe,' Havasupai *maːka* 'ripe,' Yavapai *maː* 'ripe,' etc.

Chibchan: Aruak: Atanque *pöganyia* 'bitter.' Chibcha: Manare *pasi-gui* 'sweet.' Cuitlatec *behči* 'sour.' Lenca: Guajiquero *pasa* 'bitter,' Membreno *posina* 'bitter.' Rama *pakaska* 'bitter. Talamanca: Borunca *baːka* 'bitter.'

Paezan: Atacama *pučk'ur* 'sour.' Paez *pos* 'sour.'

Andean: Qawasqar *paskešše* 'rotten.' Aymara *pok'ota* 'ripe.' Patagon: Tehuelche *poskš* 'to rot.' Quechua: Santiagueño *pošqo* 'become rotten.'

Macro-Panoan: Moseten *bikka.* Proto-Panoan **moka,* Shipibo *pag* 'sour.' Proto-Tacanan **paçe.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo *pogo-ddo* 'sour.' Chiquito *piča-ka-s* (n.)

• [A35]

68 BITTER$_2$ **cah*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Hopi Tewa *sɛː,* Tewa *sæ̃* 'taste hot.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 298 **(H)saH* 'chili pepper.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa *sa,* Colorado *sã(-ba).* Chimu: Eten *cay.* Choco: Catio *sa, ča* 'sour.'

• [A36]

69 BITTER$_3$ **kai*

Penutian: California: Maidu: South Maidu *oho* 'sour'; Wintun: Colouse *aka* 'bitter.' Gulf: Atakapa *ox* 'sharp,' Tunica *kayi* 'sour.' Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec, etc. *ka(-il)* 'bitter.'

Hokan: Chimariko *qoiyo-in* 'sour.' Karok *ʔu:x.* Pomo: East Pomo *b-iko* (*b-* is an adjective prefix). Salinan: San Miguel *t-iek* 'animal's gall,' San Antonio *t-erk* 'animal's gall. Shasta *ič'ay.* Subtiaba *g-i:ko, g-i:ka* 'liver,' *m-i:ka* 'sour.' Tequistlatec *aggua, -gwa* 'gall.' Tonkawa *ʔixʔex.* Washo *c-iga-l* 'kidney.' Yana *k'ai* 'be bitter.' Yuman: Yuma *xkʷak*, Walapai *hak*, Havasupai *aha:*, Akwa'ala *l-axa:.*

• [A242]

70 BLACK$_1$ **pol*

Hokan: Comecrudo *pal.* Karankawa *pal.* Quinigua *pan.* Seri *ko-opoɬ.* Yana *pal.* Yuman: Tipai *palsaṭ* 'charcoal.'

Andean: Qawasqar *pal.* Mapudungu *pun* 'night.' Cahuapana: Cahuapana *ök-piʎi* 'night,' Jebero *ðək-piʎ* 'night,' *-wiʎi* 'action at night.' Patagon: Patagon *apula* 'night,' Tehuelche *pulnek, epoln*, Ona *parn.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *vorone, woronæræ.* Gamella *katu-braho* 'Negro' (*katu* = 'man'). Huari: Masaka *wiʔri.*

• [A37] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

71 BLACK$_2$ **k'ara*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *ka:rʔi* 'black'; Iroquoian: Mohawk *akara* 'dark'; Siouan: Catawba *kare* 'dark.'

Hokan: Karok *ikxaram* 'night,' *ikxurara* 'evening.' Yana: North Yana *xal . . . lu* 'dark,' Yahi *xamlu* 'pitch dark.' Yuman: Tipai *xunn* 'dark.'

Andean: Qawasqar *tirre-kal, hakar* 'dark, black.' Mapudungu *kuru.* Aymara: Lupaca *č'iara*, Jaqaru *c'irara.* Cholona *čal.* Gennaken *ačula.* Cahuapana *peñ-akiʎa* 'charcoal' (*peñ* = 'fire'). Patagon: Ona *kar* 'charcoal.' Quechua: Santiagueño *kiʎu* 'firebrand.' Cf. Yamana: Yahgan *lakar* 'night.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule [cele]. Mataco: Mataco *čalax*, Vejoz *čalax* 'blue.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *čoreu.* Fulnio *klai.* Ge: Cherente *kran.* Opaie *kãora, kõra, õkaorae.*

• [A38] Cf. BAD$_1$. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

72 BLACK$_3$ **t'uki*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *sik-*, Natick [sucki]; Mosan: Salish: Bella Coola *sk'x*, Musqueam *c'q'ix.*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Mohawk *atek* 'dark in color.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 94 **(n)(h)tu(h)(n)* 'black, soot, dark, blind.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 45a **tu*, **tuhu*, M 45b **tuk* 'night.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *asikẽ.* Canichana *takitixe* 'night.' Catuquina [tekniny]. Puinave: Hubde *teča*, Tiquie *tesa*, Yehubde *tuičaː.* Shukuru *taka* 'Negro.'
Equatorial Kandoshi: Murato *ciki* 'excrement.' Maipuran: Arawak *tiki* 'excrement,' Machiguenga *tiga* 'excrement,' Piro *čki* 'excrement,' Ipurina *itike* 'excrement,' etc. Piaroa *tekẽ* 'excrement.'
Macro-Ge: Chiquito *tuki-s* 'dirty.' Proto-Ge **tɨk* 'black,' Cayapo *tuk* 'dirty.'
• [A85]

73 BLACK$_4$ **teteu*

Hokan: Jicaque *te.* Subtiaba *ida(-gina).*
Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *to(-e-gya)* 'blind,' Jemez *ⁿdahu*, San Ildefonso *nakʰũ* 'night, darkness.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Huari *ǰüǰüi.* Kaliana *čãẽ.* Puinave: Curiariai *ča*, Dou *čawa*, Puinave *tetaː*, Querari *tetãu* 'black, charcoal,' Tiquie *d(ə)u* 'charcoal.' Tucano: Hehenawa *toa-teči* 'charcoal' (*toa* = 'fire'). Yuri *čuhi, suy, tuyi.*
Equatorial: Otomaco *teoteo.* Piaroa: Saliba *tanda.* Taruma *daitwi-k* 'blue.' Trumai *date.* Tupi: Manitsawa *diadia.* Yaruro *tottua* 'blue.' Zamuco *utata* 'black, dark.'
Macro-Ge: Caraja *uitira* 'green, blue.' Fulnio *čičia* 'black.' Ge: Krenje *teted* 'green,' Crengez *ntetete* 'green.' Kaingang: Dalbergia *čɨ* 'dark brown.' Kamakan: Kamakan *hittu* 'green,' Cotoxo *itiɨ̨* 'green.'
• [A39]

74 BLACK$_5$ **tuni* ∼ *tuli*

Chibchan: Talamanca: Borunca *turinat.* Tarascan *tuli.*
Paezan: Choco: Chami *tauri* 'shadow.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *tuni*, Southern Nambikwara *t'un.*
• [CP19, MT10]

75 BLOOD$_1$ **pile*

Penutian: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **pilu* 'red.'
Hokan: Proto-Pomo **baːlay.*
Paezan: Proto-Choco **pʰorea* 'red.' Timucua *pira* 'red.'
Andean: Aymara *wila.* Leco *bile.* Patagon: Ona *vuar*, [huaːrr].
Equatorial: Kariri: Kariri *pri*, Dzubucua *pli.* Proto-Tupi **pirang*, Guayaki *pira.*
• [A40]

76 BLOOD$_2$ **menu*

Penutian: Gulf: Tunica *mili* 'red.' Oregon: Yakima *mareš* 'red,' Takelma *moɬit* 'red,' Kalapuya *meːnu* 'blood.'

Andean: Mapudungu *moʎfɨñ.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina [mimy]. Iranshe *mĩʔĩ* 'blood,' *mĩnohu* 'bleed.' Maku *tabe-memu* 'sap' (*tabe* = 'tree'). Puinave: Nukak *mɛʔɛp,* Puinave *ãmã,* Querari *mẽ* 'red.' Tucano: Amaguaje, Coto *ma* 'red.' Cf. Southern Nambikwara *yaːmiya.*

Equatorial: Arawa: Yamamadi, etc. *ama.* Chapacura: Itene *mem-ye, memena* 'red,' Tora *memnu* 'red.' Maipuran: Palicur *omi-ra,* Wachipairi, Toyeri *mimi.* Otomaco: Otomaco, Taparita *imma.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Surinam *menu,* Galibi *munu,* Jaricuna *umane,* Pemon *muen.* Yagua *mɔna.*

Macro-Panoan: Lengua *eme.* Proto-Panoan **imi.* Proto-Tacanan **ami.*

- [A40, A41]

77 BLOOD$_3$ **ʔita*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-North Yuki **ʔəs,* Coast Yuki *es,* Yuki *ãš,* Natchez *ʔic,* Muskogean: Choctaw *issiš,* Koasati *ičikči.* Zuni *ʔate.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i-)šiṭ.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔet.*

Paezan: Timucua *isi.*

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **(m-)ithah(-na).*

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Vejoz *ičiot* 'red.'

Macro-Ge: Caraja *itSo* 'red.'

- [P19]

78 BLOOD$_4$ **pe*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Arapaho *beʔ, ba,* Cheyenne *mae.*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Caddo *bahʔuh*; Siouan: Dakota *we,* Tutelo *wayi, waʔih.*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ʔəyip'i.*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *ʔõ-m,* Santa Clara *ũʔ,* Jemez *ʔĩ,* Isleta *ũa.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **we* 'red.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 47b **ʔew* (with note "perhaps better **ʔem*").

Chibchan: Proto-Arawak **əbbi.* Aruak: Kagaba *abi.* Proto-Chibcha **ebi,* Chibcha *üba*; Margua, Tegria, Boncota, Manare *aba.* Cuna *api.* Guaymi: Chumulu *have.* Motilon *abi.* Talamanca: Bribri *pe,* Chiripo *api.*

Paezan: Mura: Mura *be,* Matanawi *miĩ.* Proto-Choco **wa.* Paez *be* 'red.'

Equatorial: Maipuran: Piapoco *eβe-ri* 'red,' Uainuma *eba-ri* 'red,' Curipaco *ewa(-dali)* 'red.' Otomaco *pipi* 'red.' Proto-Tupi-Guarani **uwɨ.* Yuracare

bubu-si 'red.' Chapacura: Tora *wi.* Guamo: Santa Rosa *xue.*

Macro-Carib: Andoke [peaih] 'red.' Carib: Chayma *t-api-re* 'red,' Galibi *t-api-de* 'red.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *ewe,* Chunupi *woi,* Chama *woʔo* 'red.'

• [A209, E18, MP12]

79 BLOOD$_5$ **k^{w}a*

Almosan: Proto-Salish *k^{w}im* ∼ **k^{w}əmi-* 'red,' **k^{w}al-* ∼ **k^{w}əl-* 'red.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **k^{w}ẽːht* 'ochre, red paint.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a-)x^{w}a(-ṭ')* 'blood, red,' Proto-Yuman **ʔah^{w}ate* 'red,' **k^{w}ara* 'red ochre,' **x^{w}at* 'blood.' Proto-Coahuiltacan **kuaɬ.*

Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *ʔahsã.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)k^{w}a(ʔ)* 'red.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *açweʔsaʔa* 'red.'

Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *k^{w}au.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Guaicuru **æwudi.*

80 BLOW (v.) **puci* ∼ **puku*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **paːwa(x^w)* 'blow, breathe,' Wakashan: Kwakwala *pwx^w-* 'blow with the mouth.' Proto-Salish **puh* ∼ **pawh* ∼ **pux^w.* Proto-Chimakuan **pox^w-.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *-puːd^{z}a.* Proto-Siouan **pu-* 'by blowing.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *buː* 'blow with the mouth.' Oregon: Alsea *pu,* Coos *pəš,* Proto-Kalapuyan **puː.* Proto-California **p^{h}oːsoʔ,* Proto-Yokuts **p^{h}oːš(o).* Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **puːṭu* 'blow (wind),' Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *pušeːl.* Maidu *pɨ.* Zuni *puʔʔa* 'blow on.' Proto-Gulf **puːhte* 'blow through a tube,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **puːʔn,* Proto-Yuki *puč'* 'blow with the mouth.' Proto-Mayan **phu.* Proto-Mixe-Zoque *poh* 'blow (wind).'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i)pχu* 'blow,' **pχu-* 'by blowing,' **p^{h}usuː(l)* ∼ **p^{h}ušuː(l)* 'blow,' Proto-Pomo **p^{h}u-* 'current of air.' Proto-Yuman **p-čul, *pṣux.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Azteco-Tanoan **p^{h}u.* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **puc* ∼ **puhi* 'blow with mouth.' Proto-Tanoan **p^{h}uce,* Kiowa *p^{h}o(-le),* Jemez *ϕo(-se).*

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **bun* ∼ **bur* 'wind.' Tarascan *p^{h}uniani.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **puka-* ∼ **puku-.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **pu-ti.* Maku-Puinave *poh.* Movima *poumuh* 'wind.'

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **peyu.* Pakaasnovos *pahop* 'blow (wind).'

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **poːnoʔ.*

Macro-Panoan: Lule *p^{h}u.* Mataco: Mataco *fwo* 'wind blows,' Suhin *fuyi.* Moseten *fifi.* Proto-Panoan **paya* 'to fan.' Proto-Tacanan **pei.*

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *paori* 'air.' Mashakali: Macuni *paepi* 'wind,' Capoxo *abu* 'wind.' Puri: Coroado *pui.*

• [A42] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

81 BLUE/GREEN **sik^{w}a*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **sik^{w}-* 'blueberry,' Heiltsuk *sik'^{w}as* 'blueberry'; Proto-Algonquian **aški-* 'green, fresh, raw.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-skɨ-* 'blue, green.'

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptin *cəkcək* 'green,' Nez Perce *c'ixc'ix* 'green,' Yakima *seksek* 'grass.' California: Costanoan: Monterey *šiex* 'grass,' Rumsien *čuktuk* 'green'; Wintun: Patwin *seka* 'green.' Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *siek* 'blue,' Huchnom *siex* 'blue,' Wappo *šikatis* 'blue.' Mexican: Huave *tek* 'green'; Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *cuhcuh* 'green'; Mayan: Tzeltal *itax* 'verdure,' Kekchí *ičax* 'grass.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **sak^{w}a* 'blue.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **sawa-* 'blue,' Proto-Panoan **ṣo:* 'green,' Lule *za,* Moseten *za.*

• [MP32]

82 BODY$_1$ **p'i*

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *p'iyi-n* 'deer.' Yukian: Wappo *p'ih* 'be fat,' *piʔɛ* 'fat' (adj.)

Hokan: Achomawi *ipɦa:w* 'fat' (adj.) Chimariko *phi:ʔa* 'fat' (n.) Pomo: North Pomo *pu:i:* 'be greasy.' Salinan: San Antonio *upi(-nit)* 'fat' (n.), Yana *p^{h}uih* 'be fat.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Hopi Tewa *pivih* 'meat,' San Ildefonso *piβi* 'meat.'

Andean: Cahuapana: Jebero *pi.* Mayna *pa* 'skin.' Yamana: Yamana *api* 'body, skin,' Yahgan *api.*

Macro-Carib: Bora: Imihita *(mex-)pi.* Witoto: Muinane *abɨ.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *uabo* 'heart,' Umotina *uapo* 'heart.' Chiquito *po* 'belly,' Ge: Geico *aepu* 'belly,' Chavante *(im-)pa* 'guts.' Guato *ipo* 'belly.' Kaingang: Palmas, Tibagi, Guarapuava *fe* 'heart.'

• [A43]

83 BODY$_2$ **ime*

Equatorial: Arawa: Culino *ime* 'meat.' Otomaco *aem* 'body.' Yuracare *eme* 'meat.'

Macro-Ge: Caraja *uma.* Ge: Karaho *am-kahög* 'animal,' *am-kin* 'harmful animal.' Kaingang: Tibagi *me, mein* 'animal.' Puri *imi.*

• [A44]

84 BODY PART SUFFIX *-an

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: [languages??] *-an-* (body part suffix); Salish: [languages??] *-n* (body part suffix).

Keresiouan: Keresan: [languages??] *-ani* ∼ *-ini* (suffix on body parts and other nouns).

Penutian: Totonac *-an* (noun formative, e.g., *mak-an* 'hand').

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi **meʔeŋ* 'hand.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **mɨkɨnɨ* 'hand,' Caripuna *moken* 'hand.'

• [G65, A137] There are many other examles of this body part suffix in this dictionary. Cf. HAND ∼ GIVE ∼ MEASURE below.

85 BOIL (v.) **tˡoqʷ*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **eɬaːxkwesamwa* 'burn it thus.' Mosan: Proto-Salish **wəɬqʷ* ∼ **wɬəqʷ* 'boil, cook.' Proto-North-Wakashan *lqʷ* 'fire, campfire,' Heiltsuk *lqʷílí* 'fire,' Kwakwala *lqʷila* 'fire,' *lqʷaʔùd* 'bring firewood,' Haisla *lqʷilà* 'make a fire,' *lqʷa* 'firewood.'

Penutian: Proto-Tsimshian **kʷalkʷ* 'burn,' **kwælkw* 'wood,' Coast Tsimshian *læk* 'fire, wood,' *sɨ-ləks* 'make fire,' *gwælək* 'burn,' Nass *lakw* 'fire.' Chinook: Kathlamet *ɬx* 'burn,' *ɬʔaqɬʔaq* 'burn.' Oregon: Coos *loːqʷ*, Siuslaw *laqʷ*, Yakonan *tˡq-*. Plateau: Klamath *loloq-s* 'fire,' Nez Perce *ʔaːlik* 'make fire,' Sahaptin *ilkw-s* ∼ *iluk-s* 'fire,' *ilkw* 'make fire,' *ilkw-as* 'burn,' Klamath *loloɢ-s* 'fire,' *s-likw-* 'make fire.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ɬuk*, Atakapa *ɬok*, Chitimacha *lahi* 'burn,' Natchez *luk*, Muskogean: Choctaw *luak*. Mexican: Mayan: Chol *lok*.

Hokan: Subtiaba: Tlappanec *nik* 'burn.' Tonkawa *naxo* 'cook.'

Paezan: Atacama *lok'* 'burn' (intransitive). Itonama *i-lax* 'burn.'

• [A45]

86 BONE$_1$ **pak*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **wahu*.

Penutian: California: Wintun *bak, baka* 'tough.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **b'aːk*; Proto-Mixe-Zoque **pak*, Zoque *pak, paki* 'hard,' Mixe *pahk*; Huave *pak* 'hard.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a/i-)piH* 'bone, egg,' Achomawi: Achomawi *ipaːži* 'strong,' Atsugewi *iːpaki* 'strong.' Yuman: Akwa'ala *paʔxʷay* 'fierce.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **waki* 'be dry.'

Andean: Cholona *paxo-let* 'dry season' (*let* = 'season'). Yamana *paka* 'be dry.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Parana Boaboa *mbagn* 'hard, unripe.' Tucano: Yupua *bə(x)ka* 'hard,' Curetu *bikadʸa* 'hard.'

Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *pãhĩã* 'bone.' Tupi: Pawate *panga* 'hard,' Am-

niapa *pen* 'hard,' Yuruna *panka* 'bone,' Shipaya *pãki* 'bone.'
• [A90]

87 BONE$_2$ **t'ui*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **s-c'ṵmʔ* ∼ **s-c'ạmʔ.*
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **ca.* Proto-Yokuts **č'iy.* Zuni *sa.*
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ciyaːk.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *cucik.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **tuʎu.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Huari: Huari *tu, cu,* Masaka *cu.* Nambikwara: Proto-Nambikwara **soh.* Cf. Catuquina: Canamari *coampadᶻa.*
Equatorial: Cayuvava *hičučuču* 'jaw bone.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ṣ̌ao.*
Macro-Ge: Caraja *dʃiː* (Davis), *te'y.* Chiquito *ciː.* Proto-Ge **zi,* Apinage *yi,* Cayapo, Cherente *hi.* Kaingang: Tibagi, Palmas *hö* 'body.' Kamakan: Cotoxo *huy* 'body.'
• [A46]

88 BONE$_3$ **cak*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **oxkani* 'his bone,' Cree *osk-an* (*-an* body-part suffix), Cree *sok* 'strong,' Cheyenne *hekon* 'strong'; Yurok *seki* 'strong,' *sekeyow* 'hard.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **skẽʔr.* Keresan: Acoma *(haː-) ska(-ni),* Santa Ana *haː-sg(-ni).* Siouan: Osage *thagi* 'hard,' Hidatsa *coki* 'hard.'
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **c-a-k-l* 'dry,' Tsimshian *ziak* 'become dry.' Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **c^{h}akkaluː* 'dry.' Gulf: Tunica *sihu* 'dry,' Atakapa *cak* 'dry,' Natchez *coːx* 'dry'; Muskogean: Hitchiti *sukuː* 'dry.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **t^{y}ak-iʔŋ* 'dry,' Proto-Quichean **čaqiʔ(i)x* 'dry,' Uspantec *čak-ex* 'dry,' Kekchí *čeki* 'dry,' Chol *tixiniš* 'dry' (transitive), Tzeltal *taki-n* 'dry.'
Hokan: Pomo: Kashaya *ʔihya,* Northeast Pomo *hiya.* Seri *itak.* Yuman: Maricopa *šaːk, išaːk,* Akwa'ala *čiaka.* Cf. Karok *sakriːv* 'hard.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **čaki* 'dry.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **soh* 'dry.'
• [A47]

89 BONE$_4$ **p'i*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *p'ys-* 'hard.'
Penutian: Proto-Sahaptian *piːpš.* Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **p-w* 'bone, leg, calf,' Proto-Maiduan **p'i-k'a* 'dry, stiff.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a/i-)piH* 'bone, egg,' Karok *ʔipih.* Washo *iːbiʔ.*
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *fu* 'be dry.' Choco: Chami *pəː* 'dry.' Mura:

Mura *pe(-ase)* 'summer,' Matanawi *api-ranũ* 'dry.'
• [A48]

90 BONE$_5$ *χaq

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *χaː-, Wakashan: Kwakwala χaq-, Haisla χaːχ.
Hokan: Proto-Hokan *a(ː)K ∼ a(ː)K', Proto-Yuman *ak, Kiliwa *hak*, Tipai *ʔaːk*, Campo *ʔak*. Salinan: San Antonio *axaːk*, San Miguel *axak*. Shasta *ak*. ?Proto-Pomo *ʔihya(ː).

91 BONE$_6$ *ʔunku

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *ʔo ∼ *oho. Proto-Tanoan *ʔũ.
Chibchan: Yanomam *ũ*.
Andean: Zaparo *ʔuku*.
Equatorial: Achuar *ukunč*.

92 BOW/ARROW *ɬoqʼʷ

Almosan: Wakashan: Haisla *ɬkʼʷis* 'bow'; ?Proto-Algonquian *aʔɬawaːna 'arrow.'
Penutian: Oregon: Kalapuya *enuk* 'arrow'; California *nokʼo 'arrow,' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan *nVk 'bow, arrow,' Proto-Yokuts *nukʼ- ∼ nekʼ 'bow,' Proto-Maiduan *nokʼ 'arrow,' Maidu *nokʼo* 'arrow'; Zuni *ɬak-u* 'shoot, stab,' Wappo *luka* 'bow,' Proto-Gulf *ɬaki* 'arrow,' Natchez *onoxk* 'thorn'; Muskogean: Alabama *nakɨ* 'arrow,' Koasati *ɬaki* 'arrow'; Proto-Mayan *la(ː)h 'nettle.'
Equatorial: Cofan *nuxa* 'thorn,' Zamuco: Guaranoco *onak* 'thorn.'
• [P9, E113]

93 BREAK (v.) *kʼatʼi

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *kiːškiːškahamwa 'cut, chop to pieces' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).
Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *kattʼ* (sing. object). California: Miwok: Central Sierra *koṭicu*. Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *kʼɛše* 'cut,' Atakapa *kec* (Eastern), *kuc* (Western); Tunica *kahču*; Natchez *kec*; Muskogean: Creek *koče*, Hitchiti *kos* 'cut.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *kitʸ*; Mayan: Tzotzil *kʼas*, Mam *kat-um*.
Hokan: Achomawi *kati*. Karok *ikvit* 'cut.' Seri *k-kašx*. Tonkawa *kesʔace* 'be broken.' Yuman: Yuma *akʸeṭ* 'cut.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Chayma *akete* 'cut,' Surinam *akoːto* 'cut down' etc. Witoto: Witoto *kaita* 'cut,' Witoto-Kaimo *koaiti* 'cut,' Muinane *kodʔa* 'cut.'
• [A49] This root is also found in Kartvelian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

94 BREAST$_1$ **k'amin*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Cree *na-skikum* 'chest,' Ojibwa *ni-ka:n* 'in front,' Blackfoot *mo-kekin*; Wiyot *k^{w}ar*; Yurok *k^{w}en.* Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'in* 'front of body.'

Penutian: California: Maidu *k'ami* 'belly.' Gulf: Atakapa *kom* 'belly,' *kõp* 'stomach'; Chitimacha *kipi* 'body.' Oregon: Siuslaw *qo:mi* 'belly,' Yakonan *k^{y}ipl* 'navel.' Zuni *k'o:ppan* 'belly.'

Hokan: Comecrudo *kene* 'chest.' Cotoname *kenam.* Karankawa *kanin.*

Andean: Cahuapana *ikin-ək* 'middle' (*-ək* is locative). Patagon: Patagon *kim* 'belly,' Tsoneka *kin* 'belly.' Yamana *ikimik* 'be inside.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *gameni* 'breast.' Kaliana *kamĩhĩ* 'chest.' Tucano: Buhagana *egame* 'heart.' Yuri *ču-ukomæ* (Wallace) 'chest,' *su-oɣome* (Spix) 'chest.' Cf. Puinave: Hubde *čab* 'chest.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Itene *kima,* Tora *ikimã,* etc. Cofan *ixamate* 'chest.' Kariri: Kamaru *kummamang* 'milk.' Maipuran: Machiguenga, Campa *comi.* Piaroa: Piaroa *txu-xkuamũ* 'belly,' Saliba *xomexe* 'chest.' Tupi: Proto-Tupi **kam.*

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba *kom* 'inside.' Lengua *kañi* 'inside.' Moseten *kañ* 'in.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *kuã* 'inside,' *kuaŋ* 'belly.' Ge: Cayapo *kamaŋ* 'inside,' Krenje *kamã* 'inside.' Kaingang: Tibagi *ka,* 'inside,' *kan* 'inside,' Palmas *kamme* 'inside.' Mashakali: Mashakali, Capoxo *it-kematan* 'inside,' Macuni *i-kematahi* 'inside,' Patasho *e-kæp* 'inside.'

• [A50]

95 BREAST$_2$ **niono*

Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *nyãnõ* 'bosom,' Huari *nini,* Ticuna *nonnon.*

Macro-Ge: Kradaho *i-nioŋu* 'belly,' Mashakali *inioñ* 'belly.'

• [MT18, MG9]

96 BREAST$_3$ **pin*

Central Amerind: Tewa *pĩ,* Proto-Oto-Manguean **k^{w}i(ʔ)(n),* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pi.*

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Matagalpa *pu* 'belly.'

Paezan: Choco: Tucura *bi* 'belly.' Barbacoan: Colorado *bi* 'inside.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Wanana *peno,* Hubde *pwun,* Kaliana *wi.*

• [CA9, CP15, MT17]

97 BREAST$_4$ **tu*

Penutian: Zuni *cu* 'stomach.' Gulf: Tunica *ʔuču,* Atakapa *šo* 'heart,' Yuki *t'u* 'belly.' Mayan: Chorti *ču.*

Hokan: Washo *šū,* Chumash *s-čwö,* Karok *ʔūčič.*
Chibchan: Motilon: Dobocubi *iši* 'belly.' Misumalpan: Ulua *asung* 'liver.'
Paezan: Sambu *izo* 'heart.'
• [P25, P107, H25, CP98]

98 BREATHE **hiq^{w}*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **hiχ-* 'breathe, blow.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **hik$^{(w)}$.*

99 BRING **tuk*

Almosan: Kutenai *cukw-*; Mosan: Wakashan: Bella Bella *tx*; Salish: Lillooet *tukən,* Kalispel *tix^{w}* 'get.'
Keresiouan: Keresan: Santa Ana *tigu* 'remove' (pl. object); Siouan: Mandan *du-tak* 'take away' (*du-* = 'action with hand').
Penutian: California: Yokuts *taxa.* Gulf: Atakapa *tuk.*
• [A51]

100 BROAD **pat^{l}'*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *bel* 'flat, wide,' Yurok *pel, pelin, pleli* (the last two from Kroeber); Mosan: Chimakuan *paɬá:* 'flat,' Proto-Salish **pal* 'flat, thin,' **p'al* ∼ **p'il* 'flat,' Wakashan: Haisla *pat^{l}'à* 'flat,' Heiltsuk (Bella Bella) *bāt^{l}a* 'fathom, span.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **pra* 'flat, broad,' Biloxi *palači* 'broad,' Chiwere *blaθge* 'flat.'
Penutian: Tsimshian *baɬ* 'broad,' Nass *baɬ* 'spread out' (v.), Wishram *opēd^{l}* 'stretch out,' California: Gashowu *phal* 'spread out,' Yawelmani *palin* 'flat,' Maidu *batbatpe* 'flat, planar,' Southern Sierra Miwok *ṭappāle* 'broad,' Lake Miwok *pat'-* 'flat,' Gulf: Natchez *ʔepet, pet* 'spread'; Muskogean: Alabama, Koasati *pat^{h}a,* Natchez *patha* 'broad,' Tunica *pāl* 'flat,' Mexican: Huave *apal* 'cover.'
Hokan: Comecrudo *papol* 'flat,' Pomo: North Pomo *bado:* 'flat.' San Antonio Salinan *(p)elet'o* 'open,' Quinigua *patama.* Seri *k-apt-h* (sing. subject), *k-apt-aɬka* (pl. subject). Tequistlatec *spac'.* Yana: North Yana, Yahi *-dʔpal* 'flat.' Yuman: Kiliwa *patay,* ?Cocopa *ʔaɬ* 'broad.'
Central Amerind: Uto-Aztecan: Mono *papa-ha:noh* 'broad,' Oto-Manguean: Otomi *pappar* 'broad.'
Chibchan: Ulua *pap-* 'opened on.'
Paezan: Timucua *pal-no* 'open.'
Andean: Quechua *palta* 'broad,' Yamana *patux* 'flat country,' Yahgan *patuk* 'flat.'
Equatorial: Guahibo *patayuobi* 'open,' Uru *p^{h}ala* 'broad,' Callahuaya *peyra* 'broad,' Wapishana *ibar* 'flat.'

Macro-Carib: Muinane *aparide* 'open,' Ocaina *t^{y}a-pïïra* 'you open it.'
Macro-Panoan: Toba Guazu *pateta* 'flat,' Tacana *pai* 'flat.'
Macro-Ge: Capasho *pato* 'broad,' Ramkokamekran *ipoti* 'broad.'

• [A52] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

101 BURN$_1$ (v.) **t'eq'a* ∼ **t'oq'a*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **takweswe:wa* 'cook.' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *cyx* 'burn something,' Nootka *tik^{w}in* 'baking in sand, ashes,' Bella Bella *t'iʔk'il.* Proto-Salish **c'iχ* 'burn, sting,' Shuswap *t'ik* 'fire.' Proto-Chimakuan **tik'a-* 'kindle a fire,' Quileute *tiq^{w}aʔa'* 'cook in a pit.'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca, Mohawk *-atek-.* Proto-Siouan **at^{h}ex* ∼ **at^{h}ax,* Hidatsa *adaxa.*
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **suqal* 'cook, warm,' California Penutian *tu,* Proto-Maiduan **c'oh-* 'burn (intr.).' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **č'ɔ* 'fire, hot,' Chitimacha *tu:č* 'cook.' Proto-Mayan **c̣ik'-Vl* 'burn,' **t^{y}ak'* 'cook,' Huastec *tek'* 'cook,' Tzotzil *tok'on* 'cooked,' etc.
Hokan: Coahuilteco *-t'iˑxamko'* 'burn (tr.).' Proto-Yuman **tuka* 'burn (tr.),' Tipai, Akwa'ala *tux* 'burn,' Havasupai, Walapai *tuka* 'burn.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tai* ∼ **tahi.*
Paezan: Jirajara: Ayoman *dug* 'fire,' Jirajara *dueg* 'fire.' Timucua *taka* 'fire, burn.'
Andean: Qawasqar *t'eqya* ∼ *taqua* 'light a fire,' *txaq* 'burn.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **doʔa* 'cook.' Canichana *čuku* 'burn,' *čuko* 'burn.' Kaliana *txoko* 'fire.' Natu *tika* 'burn.' Puinave: Parana Boa-Boa *tahõ* 'fire,' Nadobo *tögö* 'fire,' Querari *teked* 'burn,' Hubde, Yehubde *tegn* 'fire.' Shukuru *itoka* 'burn.' Iranshe *ita* 'cook, burn,' *tɨ̃hĩʔĩ* 'cook.' Jupda *teg* 'fire.' Cf. Muniche *čuse* 'burn.'
Equatorial: Guahibo *atahu* 'hot.' Kariri: Dzubucua *uduhe* 'hot.' Proto-Maipuran **dikah(-ci)* 'fire,' Wachipairi *ta:x* 'hot,' Amarakaeri, Toyeri *taʔak* 'fire,' Marawa *tikiti* 'fire,' Campa *taka* 'burn,' Baniva *adəhe* 'hot,' Wapishana *tiker* 'fire,' Marawan *tiketi* 'fire,' Atorai *tikir* 'fire.' Piaroa: Piaroa *nduae* 'hot,' Saliba *duada* 'heat.' Timote: Mocochi *cuhe* 'sun.' Zamuco: Tumraha *ərehu* 'fire,' Chamacoco *örugu* 'fire.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *etuka,* Nahukwa *ito* 'fire,' Kalapalo *ito:* 'fire.'
Macro-Panoan: Guisnai *etax* 'fire.' Tacanan: Cavineña *etiki* 'fire.' Mataco, Choropi, Suhin, Ashluslay *itox* 'fire.' Vejoz *itox* ∼ *itag* 'fire.' Nocten *ütax* 'fire.'
Macro-Ge: Kutasho *tiakil* 'fire.' Mongoyo *diaxka* 'fire.' Hahahay *itahabm* 'fire.'

• [A54] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

102 BURN$_2$ (v.) **peq' ~ *poq'*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **baːq^w ~ *baːq* 'fire,' Wakashan: Heiltsuk, Haisla *bika* 'transfer fire.'

Penutian: Proto-Coos-Takelma **pʔiː* 'fire,' Takelma *pʔiː* 'fire.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i)pI(K')*, Proto-Pomo **ʔihp^{h}a-* 'cook, bake.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **p^{h}a* 'fire.'

Chibchan: Paya *pas* 'kindle.' Motilon: Dobocubi *bočon* 'heat.' Talamanca: Bribri *pace* 'kindle.' Yanomam *wakə* 'fire.'

Paezan: Paez *bač* 'become hot,' *apaz* 'burn.' Proto-Choco **paː-*. Inter-Andine: Guambiano, Totoro *patćɨp*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Pamöa *paʔaro* 'fire,' Yahuna, Tanimuca *peka* 'fire,' Uantya, Uasöna *pekame* 'fire,' Patsoca *pekaro* 'fire,' Uaiana *pekane* 'fire.' Maku-Puinave *pãũʔ*.

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **apɨ*, Digüt *pokaiŋ* 'fire.' Zamuco, Ayore, Guarañoca *piok* 'fire.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Uaica *apok* 'fire,' Taurepan *apog* 'fire,' Arecuna, Ingarico *apo* 'fire.' Witotoan: Witoto *boʔodöno* 'fire.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pek*, Karaho *puk*, Erikbatsa *okpog(-maha)*. Yabuti: Arikapu *pikö* 'fire,' Mashubi *piku* 'fire.'

• [CP105, CP109, MG18] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

103 BURN$_3$ (v.) **ka ~ *ko*

Almosan: Kutenai *ko*.

Keresiouan: Keresan: Santa Ana *hā-k'a-ni* 'fire.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **ka*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ku ~ *ko* 'fire.' Tanoan: Taos *xa* 'roast.'

Equatorial: Tupi: Sanamaica *kaːi* 'fire.'

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **ku-zɨ* 'fire.' Patasho *köa* 'fire.' Macuni *kö* 'fire.' Mashakali *ko* 'fire.' Kapasho *ka* 'fire.'

• [AK37, CA11]

104 BURN$_4$ (v.) **moɬok*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **wəɬq^w* 'cook, boil,' Upper Chehalis *wλq^w* 'cook.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *māʔlk*, Nass *meɬ*, Takelma *meʔl*, Siuslaw *maɬč*, Nisenan *molmol* 'boil,' Patwin *māɬa* 'cook.'

Hokan: Yana *maʔlak* 'bake.' Proto-Pomo **maːli- ~ *mahla-*, South Pomo *māli*, Washo *meli* 'make a fire,' Jicaque *myolko* 'boil.'

Central Amerind: Zacapoaxtla *momoluca* 'boil' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).

• [H19, H26] The Salish forms may belong with BOIL *t^{l}oq^w*.

105 BUTTERFLY$_1$ **palpal*

Penutian: Gulf: Muskogean: Alabama *hakcoːpalpa*, Proto-North-Yuki **pal-* ∼ **palpol-*.
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **p^{h}aLoLo*.

106 BUTTERFLY$_2$ **penpen*

Penutian: Proto-Mayan **pehpen* ∼ **pehpem*.
Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *pũpu*.
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *puʔpiñïʔï*.
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **pɨpɨš*, Proto-Tacanan **-pipi*.

107 BUTTERFLY$_3$ **sape* ∼ **sapipe* ∼ **sasipe*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **suseːpe*.
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *sape*.
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **sapipi* ∼ **sababa*, Proto-Tacanan **sababa*.

108 BUTTERFLY$_4$ **liklik*

Almosan: Wakashan: Haisla *lk^w*.
Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *seliklik*.

109 BUY **teu*

Almosan: Mosan: Salish: Shuswap *tew*; Wakashan: Kwakwala *da* 'take.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **te*, Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **tü*.
• [AK40, CA13]

110 BUZZARD$_1$ **hus* ∼ **huš* ∼ **ʔus* ∼ **ʔuš*

Penutian: California: Maiduan: Maidu *ʔus*, Konkow *hüˈs*, Wintun: Wintu *huˈs*, Patwin *huˈs*, Yokuts: Gashowu (Chukchansi) *hos*, Miwok: Lake Miwok *huːs*, Gulf: Natchez *ʔoːši*, Chitimcha *ʔoːš*, Muskogean: Choctaw *õssi* 'eagle,' Chickasaw *õsiʔ* 'eagle.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **ahaʔus-Vh*.
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **huš*.
Chibchan: Chimila *ussuʔ*.

111 BUZZARD$_2$ **wačuli* ∼ **wayuri*

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Tanimuca *wayuri-ka*, Siona *wayo*.
Equatorial: Guahibo: Guahibo *waːyuli*, Cuiva *wayuri*; Piaroa: Saliba *waǰuli*; Maipuran: Achagua *waːčuli*, Curipaco *wayuli*, Piapoco *wačuli*, Yucuna *waːyu*.

112 CALL$_1$ (v.) **wanik*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **wiːnleːwa* ∼ **waːwiːnleːwa* 'name (v.)'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-weh-* 'speak,' Tuscarora *weh* 'speak.' Proto-Caddoan **-waː-* 'speak.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *wan* 'call,' *wææ* 'name (v.)' Plateau: North Sahaptin *wanik* 'to name,' Nez Perce *weʔniki* 'name (v.)' Gulf: Atakapa *waw* 'call by name,' Wappo *walɛ* 'hallo,' Muskogean: Alabama *-yowwa* 'call,' Choctaw *-howa* 'call,' Chickasaw *-waː* 'call.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *nəyi*, Zoque *nəy*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 432a **niok, *neokʔ* 'talk.'

Chibchan: Yanomam *wãfə* 'name (v.)'

Andean: Patagon: Manekenkn *uːnuk* 'cry.' Sechura *nik, ñik* 'cry.' Zaparo *naketa-no* 'cry.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *wik^{y}u* 'name (v.)' Proto-Tucanoan **wã-mi* 'name (v.)'

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **-wɨ-nɨ* 'name (v.)' Chapacura: Pakaasnovas *wit* 'name (n.)'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Waiwai *añiki* 'call,' Hishcariana *añek* 'call.' Witoto *nokoy* 'invite him!'

• [A55]

113 CALL$_2$ (v.) **pai*

Keresiouan: Keresan: Keres *be* 'tell.'

Penutian: Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw *pãya*. Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *pay*.

Hokan: Chimariko *-pa-* 'say.' Karok *piːp, ipeːr̃* 'tell, name.' Pomo: East Pomo *ba-* (prefix in verbs of telling). Yana *ba-* 'call.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 198 **(h)k^{w}a(ʔ)* 'make noise, weep, shout, say.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 74 **pai*.

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *ehpɨ* 'call, say.' Misumalpan: Miskito *paiu-*. Motilon *iba-r* 'shout.'

Paezan: Andaqui *fifi*. Paez *paya*.

Andean: Mapudungu *pi* 'say, be named.' Sabela: Auca *pe*. Zaparo *pi*.

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Mascoy *pawa* 'speak.' Moseten *peya-ki* 'speak.'

• [A56]

114 CAPYBARA **keču*

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Coreguaje *k^{hw}ẽso*, Siona *g^{w}eso*, Secoya *k^{w}eʔso*; Puinave: Nukak *kɛčuʔ*, Kakua *kečoʔ*.

Equatorial: Maipuran: Achagua, Piapoco *keːsu*, Yucuna *keːso*.

115 CARRY$_1$ **apa*

Penutian: California **apa.*

Andean: Aymara: Jaqaru *apa.* Cahuapana: Jebero *ək-paʔ.* Quechua: Cochabamba *apa.* Yahgan *apa.*

Equatorial: Maipuran: Apurina *apa.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Wayana *apoi* 'take,' Galibi *apwi* 'take,' Chayma *apue* 'take,' etc. Witoto: Witoto *iba* 'buy,' Erare *upa* 'buy.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **βï* 'bring.' Proto-Tacanan **be* 'bring.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pe* 'take.' Ge: Krenje *apö* 'load' (v.) Kaingang: Tibagi *ba* 'carry, bring.'

• [A57]

116 CARRY$_2$ **ko(n)*

Penutian: Tsimshian *go:u* (sing. subject) 'take.' Chinook: Wishram *ga* 'seize.' California: Maidu *kə* 'have.' Gulf: Atakapa *ko:* (sing. subject) 'take.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *k^{h}ɔ-* (prepound 'get'), Tewa *xɔ̃-ng.* Proto-Oto-Manguean R 126 **(h)ka(n)* 'take, carry.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 76 **k^{w}e.*

• [A58]

117 CARRY$_3$ **nek*

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *n'ik^{w}ḷa* 'carry on the shoulder,' Bella Bella *nku-la*; Proto-Algic **neg-*, Yurok *negem,* Algonquian: Ojibwa *nika:* 'carry on the shoulder.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *nẽhkwi-* 'haul away, pull out.'

Penutian: Proto-Sahaptian **nek.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **no* 'carry,' **nok* 'move.'

• [AK42]

118 CAUSATIVE$_1$ **-(a)t(u)*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *-at* (transitivizer), Yurok *-et* ∼ *-ət* (transitivisers); Algonquian: Blackfoot *-at* (transitivizer); Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *-d* (transitivizer after locative suffixes); Salish: [languages] *-t* (transitivizer); Kutenai *-'nt* 'action by hand' (in which, according to Boas, the *-t* is a transitivizer).

Keresiouan: Keresan: [languages] *-tʊ* (makes actions out of statives); Iroquoian: Seneca *-ʔt* ∼ *-st* (causative, in the second form *-s-* is probably also a causative, which is found elsewhere in Almosan-Keresiouan).

Andean: Yahgan *(t)u:-* (causative), Mapudungu *-tu-* (denominative or causative reversive); Zaparoan: Zaparo *-tə* (causative), Shimigae *-te* (causative).

• [G92] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

119 CAUSATIVE$_2$ **ma*

Equatorial: Tupian: [languages] *m(b)o-* (causative); Arawakan: Maipuran: Baure *i* ∼ *mo,* in which the choice is morphologically determined (for *i,* see HE/SHE$_1$); Jivaro: Aguaruna *m(a)* 'to do,' *-ma* (denominative, e.g., *tumaš* 'a comb,' *tumaš-ma* 'to comb').

Macro-Panoan: Panoan: Chacobo *-ma* (causative), Cashibo *-mi* (causative); Tacanan: Tacana *-me* (causative), Chama *-me:* (causative); Lengua: Mascoy *-me* (causative); Mataco: Chulupi *-am* ∼ *-em* ∼ *-um* (causative); Lule *me-* (causative).

• [G93]

120 CAUSATIVE$_3$ **cV-* ∼ **-Vc*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-Vs,* Kutenai *-ciʔt-, -ciʔ* (causative [passive]).

Penutian: Plateau: ?Proto-Sahaptian **šepe,* Gulf: Yuki *-s* ∼ *-si,* Wappo *-is-* , Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **-(i)č* (causative, transitive), Atakapa *-iš* ∼ *-š,* Chitimacha *-či* (transitive suffix), Proto-Muskogean *či.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **sV-* (transitive.)

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **sa(ʔ)* 'make, do, work, causative.'

Paezan: Timicua *-s* ∼ *-sV* (causative, transitive).

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **-či* (causative, transitive).

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **-ṣ̌õ* (transitive).

121 CEDAR **caq'u*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'aq-* 'cedar bark,' Proto-Chimakuan **sik'^{w}o-* 'cedar bark,' Proto-Salish **suk'^{w}am* 'cedar bark.'

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pre-Pawnee **-caʼku* 'cedar,' Caddo *sakʔó* 'cedar.'

122 CHEEK **pok*

Hokan: Jicaque *p^{h}ok,* Tequistlatec *bege.*

Macro-Carib: Motilon *ipæpok,* Ocaina *faʔxon.*

• [H28, MC9]

123 CHEST **t'ik* ∼ **t'uk*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *ʔseʔki* 'belly,' Montagnais *škate* 'belly'; Wiyot *ǰaɣiɬ* 'belly.' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *tik'i* 'belly,' Bella Bella *tk'i* 'belly,' Nitinat *ta:č'* 'belly'; Salish: Nootsack *t^l'ač* 'belly,' Twana *t^l'a:ʔč* 'belly.'

Penutian: California: Costanoan: San Juan Bautista *tukai,* San Francisco

itok. Chinook *acx.* Gulf: Tunica *čihki* 'belly'; Chitimacha *ših* 'belly.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque *cek* 'belly.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *itakua* 'belly.' Iranshe *t^{y}uku* 'belly.' Kaliana *tukuy* 'belly.' Nambikwara: Southern Nambikwara *t'ih* 'abdomen.' Puinave: Marahan *tok* 'belly,' Papury *tok* 'bosom,' Querari *taka* 'belly,' *daka* 'chest.' Ticuna *tugai* 'belly.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Itene *toko* 'belly,' *tukure* 'heart.' Guamo: Santa Rosa *duexu* 'belly.' Maipuran: Bare *nduku,* Wapishana *duku-li,* Atoroi *du-kudi,* etc. Uro: Uro *tuk-si* 'stomach, heart,' Chipaya *tuč-si, tuši* 'heart.'

Macro-Panoan: Charruan: Charrua *itax.* Mataco: Nocten, Vejoz *tokue.* Panoan: Mayoruna *takua,* Cashinahua *taka* 'belly.' Tacanan: Chama *taxo* 'breast.'

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *tuci-s.* Ge: Apinage *itko.* Kaingang: Apacurana *dugn* 'belly.' Mashakali *itkonatan.* Puri: Coroado *teke* 'belly.'

• [A59]

124 CHEW **qac*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **qaːc.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **kač̣u-,* Qawasqar *qasqana.*

125 CHICKEN **cik*

Penutian: Gulf: Atakapa *cikilik,* Chickasaw *cikcik* 'word used to call chickens,' Yuki *čik.*

Chibchan: Tarascan *cikata.* Rama *sis-sik.*

• Perhaps a variant of BIRD *c'ik.*

126 CHILD$_1$ **(a)nu*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 389 **no* 'small.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa, Colorado *na* 'child, small.' Choco: Catio *niu* 'boy, son.' Jirajara: Jirajara *unu, unuyo* 'boy,' Ayoman *unu* 'boy.' Paez: Paez *nu(-kue)* 'small,' Guambiana *une.* Timucua *ano* 'young of animals.' Cf. Atacama *pauna* 'boy.'

Andean: Qawasqar *anne* 'daughter,' Cholona: Cholona *añu* 'daughter,' *ñu* 'daughter,' Hivito *noː* 'daughter.' Mayna *ni-* 'child' (deduced from *ni-thawaː* 'boy,' *ni-pai* 'girl'). Yamana: Yahgan *inia* 'daughter,' *inni* 'daughter.' Zaparo *nia* 'child.' Cf. Mapudungu: Pehuenche *ñu-* 'bear' (v.)

Macro-Panoan: Charruan: Chana, Guenoa *ineu* 'son.' Guaicuru: Guachi *inna* 'son.' Mataco: Vejoz *anax,* Choroti *i-nuwe* 'be born,' *naiyihi* 'bear' (v.), Macca, Towothli *enani* 'girl.' Moseten *nana-t* 'boy,' *nana-s* 'girl.' Tacanan: Arasa *nana,* Tacana *e-anana,* Cavineña *nana-* 'small, tender.'

• [A61]

127 CHILD$_2$ **mako*

Almosan: Algonquian: Beothuk *magaraguis* 'son,' Massachusett *mukketchouks* 'boy.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **maːgɨː-dᶻa* 'it is a girl,' Santa Ana *-ma'kə* 'my daughter,' Acoma *magə* 'girl,' Siouan: Hidatsa *makadištamia* 'girl.'

Penutian: Plateau: Cayuse *m'oks* 'baby,' Modoc *mukak* 'baby.' California: Proto-Yokuts **mokh-eːt'a* 'girl,' Gashowu *mokheta* 'girl,' Costanoan: Santa Cruz *mux-aš* 'girl.' Zuni *maki* 'young woman.' Gulf: Yuki *muh* 'young.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *mahntk* 'son,' ?*miš* 'girl, boy.'

Hokan: Achomawi *mik-tsan* 'child' (*-tsan* = diminutive), Yana *ʔimx* 'young,' Washo *mèhu* 'boy,' Chumash: Santa Barbara *mičamo* 'boy,' *amičanek* 'girl,' Santa Ynez *makčai* 'daughter,' *mak-isi-huanok* 'girl,' Proto-Yuman **maxay* 'young man,' Cocopa *xmik* 'boy,' Walapai *mik* 'boy,' Maricopa *maxay* 'boy,' Yuma *maša-xay* 'girl.' Tequistlatec *(ɬa-)mihkano* 'boy.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Tewa *mogè* 'young.' Oto-Manguean ?Otomi *metsi* 'boy.'

Chibchan: Cuna *mači(-gua)* 'boy.' Misumalpan: Ulua *muix-bine* 'child,' Chimila *muka* 'son-in-law,' *muka-yunkvir* 'daughter,' Yanomam: Shiriana *moko* 'girl,' Yanomam *moko* 'girl.'

Paezan: Waunana *mukua* 'daughter,' *mučaira* 'son,' Warao *mokomoko* 'little children.'

Andean: Yahgan *maku* 'son,' *makou-esa* 'daughter-in-law,' Yamana *māku-n* 'son.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **məʔic.* Tucano: Yahuna *make* 'son,' Yeba *mãkẽẽ* 'child,' *yimaki* 'son,' Waikina *maxkẽ* 'child,' *mehino* 'boy,' Dyurumawa *(ma-)maki* '(small) child' (on *ma-*, see the Macro-Tucanoan entry under CHILD$_7$, below), Coto *ma-make* 'boy,' Tucano *muktuia* 'boy, girl,' *vimago* 'girl,' *dyemaxkĩ* 'child,' Curetu *si-magö* 'daughter,' *si-mugi* 'son,' Waiana *yemakə* 'daughter,' Ömöa *yemaxke* 'son,' Ticuna *mākan* 'child,' Desana *mague* 'son,' Auake *makuamẽ* 'son.'

Equatorial: Tinigua: Pamigua *mekve* 'boy,' Maipuran: Araicu *emɣite* 'child,' Kariay [ymuky] 'boy,' Mehinacu *yamakui* 'boy,' Paumari *makinaua* 'boy, young,' *-makhini* 'grandson,' Marawan *makib-mani* 'boy,' Uru *mači* 'daughter,' Caranga, Chipaya *mač* 'son,' Oyampi *kunyã-muku-* 'girl,' Maue *makubdia* 'girl,' Tambe *kusa-muku* 'young woman.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Taranoan **mumuku* 'child, son,' Yabarana *mūku* 'boy,' Galibi *magon* 'young of animals,' Cumanagote *miku* 'child,' Pavishana *mu'gi* 'daughter,' Taulipang *muku* 'son,' Accawai *mogo* 'son.'

Macro-Panoan: Tiatinagua *mahi* 'son'; Macro-Ge: Apinage *mäaukride* 'girl,' Ramkokamekran *mäggepru* 'girl,' Coroado *meke-šambe* 'son.'

• [A62] Traces of the Amerind gender pattern—MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL *i/u/a*—can be discerned in some of these forms. This root is

also found in Dravidian, Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Pacific, and Eurasiatic (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

128 CHILD$_3$ *pan

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 225 *(n)(ʔ)k^{w}a(h)(n). Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 305 *pe 'new, young.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima p'amp'an 'bear' (v.) Puinave: Marahan apuhudn 'pregnant.' Ticuna buʔɨ̃. Tucano po(-na) 'children,' pini 'sprout.' Yuri abye 'daughter.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Surinam paːrɨ 'grandchild,' Cumanogoto par 'grandchild,' Tamanaco par 'nephew,' etc. Yagua poriː.

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Vejoz pu 'be born.' Proto-Panoan: *βakɨ 'child,' Cashinahua ba 'beget.' Proto-Tacanan *βakwa 'child,' Guarayo poy 'be born (of plant).'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo pu-i 'to ferment.' Chiquito ai-bo. Fulnio fe 'grow.' Ge: Krenje pom 'born.' Kaingang: Catarina, etc. po 'be born.'

• [A63]

129 CHILD$_4$ *ʔali

Penutian: Tsimshian oːli-s 'great-grandson.' Oregon: Coos aːla. California: Wintun: Wintu ila, ela, Patwin ʔilaːy. Gulf: Tunica ʔelu 'bear fruit.' Mexican: Mayan: Maya ʔal (general), Kekchí al 'bear (v.),' Quiché alax 'bear' (v.)

Hokan: Pomo: Northeast Pomo uːla- (in compounds). Yana ʔalaː, with diminutive consonantism in compounds -ʔana.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 387 *ʔali 'small.'

Andean: Qawasqar alla 'bear (v.)' Mapudungu yall- 'bear (v.)' Zaparo: Arabela ra 'bear (v.)' Cf. Aymara yuri 'be born.'

• [A64]

130 CHILD$_5$ *t^{l}uk

Almosan: Algic: Yurok cān-ūk-s 'young child' (< *cān-hūk-s).

Penutian: Tsimshian ɬuk-taēn 'grandchild'; Mexican: Mayan: Chontal čox-to 'young,' Chol čok-tuiun 'boy' (cf. aluš–čok 'girl').

Hokan: Chumash: Santa Cruz huk-tana-hu 'my son.'

Chibchan: Miskito tuk-tan 'child, boy.'

Andean: Patagon: Manekenkn ie-tog-te 'brother.'

Equatorial: Chapacuran: Chapacura a-čoke-tunia 'girl.'

Macro-Ge: Kaingang: Tibagi tog-tan 'girl.'

• [Ruhlen 1994b] What is striking about this etymology is that all of the forms—in seven branches of Amerind distributed from Canada to Brazil—are in fact compounds of two different Amerind roots. In all of these exam-

ples one finds a general word for child, *t^{l}uk,* modified by the gender-specific child terms *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* 'son, child, daughter.' In some cases the neutral form *t'ana* 'child' has become specialized as either masculine or feminine, as Sapir noted was the case in Algic (Sapir 1923). In other cases the original gender distinction has been preserved.

131 CHILD$_6$ **pam*

Penutian: Plateau: Molale *pam-tin* 'nephew,' Proto-Sahaptian **pa̋mt* 'nephew' (woman's brother's son), North Sahaptin *pám-ta* 'nephew,' Nez Perce *pa̋m-tin* 'nephew.'

Hokan: Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *t'an-pam* 'child.'

• [Ruhlen 1994b] Once again we find a compound similar to that discussed in the preceding etymology. Here the general root *pam* 'child' is modified by the gender-specific root *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* 'son, child, daughter.'

132 CHILD$_7$ **man*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *man-* 'young,' Cheyenne *emonae* 'he is young.' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *m'ən* 'young of animals'; Salish: Squamish *mən',* Twana *bədə* (*b* < **m, d* < **n*).

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 86 **mal, *ma* 'child.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *-mo* (diminutive). Puinave: Papury *-me* 'small,' Ubde-Nehern *-ma* (diminutive). Tucano: Yahuna *meni* 'child.' Cf. Proto-Nambikwara **məic* 'child,' Sabane *mais* 'small,' Southern Nambikwara *wẽt, wẽs* 'small.'

Macro-Carib: Bora: Miranya *mæni,* Imihita *mene* 'child, son.' Carib: Proto-Hianocoto **mure,* Apiaca *moni,* Bakairí *imeri* 'small.'

• [A237] The diminutive consonantism—*l/n*—may be involved here.

133 CHILD$_8$ **k'ati*

Equatorial: Maipuran: Toyeri *-ket* (diminutive). Timote *akoc* 'new.' Trumai *axos, axus* 'young, child.' Uro: Caranga *k^{x}aːta* 'raw,' Chipaya *kaːtaža* 'raw.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Otuke *kaoro* 'boy.' Proto-Ge **kra,* Cherente *kedæ,* Acroamirim *kutæ,* Apinage *kræ,* etc. Kaingang: Southern Kaingang *kræ* 'son.' Kamakan: Kamakan *kraniŋ,* Masacara *kra, kræ.* Mashakali: Macuni *ia-kuto.* Puri: Coroado *krikra* 'small.'

• [A281]

134 CHIN **yuh*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-yuhʔ* 'chin, jaw.'

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **yahpiʔ.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **uya* 'face.'

135 CHIPMUNK **wasila*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *wasla,* Proto-Sahaptian **wušši* 'wood rat,' Sahaptin *wuši* 'wood rat,' Nez Perce *wisi:* 'rat.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **wisila.*

136 CHOP **qak*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *qaka* 'chop off head, behead,' Heiltsuk *qáka* 'chop off head,' Haisla *qàka* 'chop off head'; Proto-Algonquian **-ikah(w)* 'chop off.'
Penutian: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **ikax* 'axe.'

137 CLOSE$_1$ (v.) **q'apa*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algic **kep-eʔ-* 'close an opening,' **kep-w-* 'cover,' Wiyot *kʷapɬ* 'be covered,' Proto-Algonquian **kepanwahikani* 'cover, lid,' Proto-Central Algonquian **kep.* Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *hop-ta* 'in hiding,' Haisla *kap-* 'remove a covering layer'; Proto-Chimakuan **c'ap-* 'covered, shut tight,' **hap'il* 'cover (v.), Chemakum *hap'ili:* 'cover'; Salish: Proto-Coast Salish **qəp'* 'close, cover, lid,' Proto-Interior Salish **qəp* 'put something on something (mostly to cover or protect),' Squamish *qəp',* Kalispel *čep* 'lock a door.'
Keresiouan: Siouan: Dakota *akaxpa,* Mandan *iaxawe,* Catawba *kəpa.*
Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *khu:pi* 'skin.' Gulf: Natchez *kap-* 'cover, wrap,' Tunica *kɔhpa* 'bar, shut in, shut out.'
Hokan: Chimariko *kumičin* 'all.' Salinan: San Antonio *xam, xap* 'finish.' Subtiaba: Tlappanec *kamba* 'all.' Tonkawa *kapa* 'shut.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ko* 'bark of tree'; Proto-Oto-Manguean **ku* 'close, cover.'
Chibchan: Cuna *akapa* 'close one's eyes.'
Paezan: Atacama *k'aba* 'hide (transitive),' Timicua *kupa* 'bark (n.).
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *kap-* 'cover (v.).'
Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Mascoy *kyab-* 'cover,' Moseten *sup, sipi* 'cover.' Panoan: Panobo *kepui* 'close,' Shipibo *kepu* 'close.' Proto-Tacanan **çipi* 'cover.'
Macro-Ge: Ge: Krenje *kapi* 'bolt.' Puri: Coroado *kapo-em* 'close.'
• [A66] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

138 CLOSE$_2$ (v.) **kui*

Penutian: Yakima *ik* 'hide,' Central Sierra Miwok *ʔokoy* 'cover,' Chitimacha *ʔiki* 'hide,' Quiché *k'uy* 'hide.'
Central Amerind: Tanoan: Taos *kʷi-l.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **ku* 'close,

cover.'
• [P109, CA15]

139 CLOSE$_3$ (v.) **pan*

Penutian: California: Maiduan: Maidu *ban* 'cover.' Gulf: Atakapa *pan,* Wappo *pɔn,*
Macro-Panoan: Choroti *pone,* Cavineña *pene.*
• [P39, MP17]

140 CLOUD$_1$ **tal(u)*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *dẽn* 'sun,' San Ildefonso *t^{h}ãn* 'day,' Hopi Tewa *ṭhang* 'day.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 6 **tin* 'day.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 238a **ton* 'hot,' Nahuatl *tona-t^l* 'sun.' (Cf. Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 423a **ta-* 'sun.')
Paezan: Barbacoa: Cuaiquer *čillo* 'heaven.' Choco: Sambu *čirrua* 'heaven.'
Andean: Qawasqar *tullu.* Cahuapana *tãlua.*
Equatorial: Esmeralda *mu-sala* 'smoke' (*mu* = 'fire'). Maipuran: Wapishana *išiʔir,* Goajiro *siruma,* Atoroi *išaira.* Uro: Uro *siri,* Chipaya *ziri.* Zamuco: Chamacoco *essela* 'fog.'
Macro-Panoan: Lule *til-p* 'thunder.' Mataco: Macca *tetelun* 'thunder.' Panoan: Conibo *tirin* 'thunder,' Marinahua *tɨrɨkɨ* 'thunder.' Proto-Tacanan **tiri* 'thunder.'
Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umotina *otalo* 'lightning.' Botocudo *taru* 'sky, day.' Guato *(ma-)tari* 'thunder,' *(ma-)(kvia-)tar* 'lightning.'
• [A67]

141 CLOUD$_2$ **pa(n)k*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *p'ay-s.* California: Miwok: Central Sierra *ʔopa.* Zuni *pokɬi* 'smoke.' Gulf: Atakapa *po, pox, pux* 'smoke,' Chitimacha *pok* 'smokey,' Yukian: Yuki *i:p,* Wappo *pohi* 'fog.' Mexican: Mayan: Huastec *pauh* 'smoke,' Yucatec *buʔ* 'smoke'; Totonac *pukɬ-ni.*
Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *p^{h}an,* Taos *phẽ-na.* Proto-Oto-Manguean R 208 **(n)k^{w}a(n)* 'cloud, smoke, damp, dew, fog.' Cf. Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 186 **pak* 'fog' (possibly containing **pa-* 'water').
Chibchan: Chibchan: Chibcha *faoa* 'fog,' Tegria *aba.* Cuna *po:* 'mist.' Talamanca: Terraba *poŋ* 'cloud, fog.'
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *poyo.* Choco: Saija *paxa* 'sky,' Citara *baxa* 'sky.' Mura *pe.* Paez *ipia, ipa* 'smoke.' Cf. Timucua *lica-faya* 'cloud.'
• [A68]

142 CLOUD$_3$ **pot*

Penutian: Coast Yuki *poʔtit,* Yakima *pasčit* 'fog.'

Equatorial: Ebidoso *pod* 'heaven,' Guayabero *fato* 'heaven,' Timote *ki-veuč* 'cloud.'
• [P40, E59]

143 CLOVER **pot*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Northern Yuki **p'oht* ∼ *p'ohṭ.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **paT.*

144 COLD$_1$ **canik*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *sa:won* 'be cold.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **sni,* Catawba *čĩ* (Speck 1934: 370).
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 279 **(n)(ʔ)si(h)(n).* Almosan: Proto-Salish **c'ut^l, *c'at^l.*
Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca *seanximi.* Chibcha: Tegria *sero,* Pedraza *seroa.* Lenca: Chilanga *c'ana,* Similaton *sani* 'freeze.' Malibu: Chimila *sohnikote.* Misumalpan: Sumu *sang* 'cold weather.' Motilon: Dobocubi *tero(-kwa).* Paya *sainista* 'be cold.' Talamanca: Borunca *ca:ra* 'be cold,' Terraba *sen.* Tarascan *cira.* Xinca *sarałci* 'to cool,' *sarara* 'frost' (Maldonado), Chiquimulilla *sarara.* Yanoama: Yanam, Yanomam *sãi.*
Paezan: Atacama *sera-r.* Chimu: Eten *can.*
Andean: Cahuapana *sanök-li.* Zaparo *sənə.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Surinam *i:sana* (n.), Kaliana *ti-sano-le,* Cariniaco *tu-sano-ri,* etc. Yagua *sanora* (Marcoy), *sanehe* 'rainy season' (Fejos).
• [A69]

145 COLD$_2$ **t'ak'*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **tahk* 'cool.' Kutenai *-it'k'o.* Mosan: Salish: Squamish *(təm-)t'iq^w* 'winter' (*təm* = 'season').
Penutian: California: Yokuts *č'eč'eka.* Gulf: Chitimacha *č'aki.* Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *suksuk*; Mayan: Tzotzil *sik.* Plateau: Cayuse *tok* 'ice.'
Hokan: Jicaque *coix* 'ice.' Karok *ʔathi:k.* Shasta *ʔissik'.* Tonkawa *sa:x* 'cool, fresh air.'
Paezan: Paez: Guambiana *isix* 'wind.' Warrau *ahaka* 'wind.'
• [A70]

146 COLD$_3$ **kaca*

Hokan: Achomawi *ašč'a-siwi* 'it is cold.' Chimariko *xaca.* Pomo: East Pomo *kacil,* South Pomo *kac^{h}i.* Yana *xac'it'* 'it feels cold.' Yuman: Tipai, Diegueño, Campo *xcur* 'winter,' Yuma *xacu:r.*
Andean: Qawasqar [ghesas], [kizas]. Patagon: Ona *košek* 'winter.' Quechua: Santiagueño *qasa* 'freeze.'

• [A71]

147 COLD$_4$ **to*

Central Amerind: Kiowa *t'o* 'be cold,' Proto-Oto-Manguean **tome.*
Equatorial: Saliba *duha,* Toyeri *dohina.*
• [CA18, E27]

148 COLD$_5$ **kui*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Taos *k'o.* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^{w}ɨ.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **k^{w}ɨ(n).*
Macro-Panoan: Chunupi *kui,* Lule *kei.*
• [CA16, MP19]

149 COLD$_6$ **cia*

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **ciya,* Tanoan: Taos *cia,* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **sep.*
Equatorial: Yaruro *čiwah,* Taruma *siwa.*
• [CA17, E28]

150 COME$_1$ **nani*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *row* 'come from' (*r* < **n*), Algonquian: Arapaho *naʔ* 'come to, arriving'; Kutenai *iɬ*; Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *n'i*; Salish: Songish *ən'ɛ,* Lkungen *enæ.*
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Oneida *-ine-* 'go, proceed'; Keresan: Santa Ana *ni* 'walk, go'; Proto-Siouan **-ni* 'walk,' usually *ma-ni* 'ground walk,' but Mandan, Biloxi *ni* 'walk.'
Penutian: California: Costanoan *-na* (future), *ina-* 'go to'; Maiduan: Maidu *-no* 'go to,' Nisenan *ʔo:no* 'come, reach'; Miwok: Lake *ʔoni,* Central Sierra *ʔynny,* etc. Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *na* 'come up,' Muskogean: Koasati *ono* 'climb,' Creek *onna.* Mexican: Totonac: Papantla *aʔn* 'go.'
Hokan: Chumash: La Purisima *nana* 'walk.' Esselen *neni* 'go, walk.' Pomo: East Pomo *negi, nek* 'go to.' Yana *ni* 'go' (sing. male subject).
Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *na, nai, nei* 'go.' Cuna *noni, nene, nae* 'go.' Malibu: Chimila *noŋ.* Tarascan *-no-.* Some of these forms may belong under ROAD$_1$ below.
Paezan: Allentiac *neñe* 'road.' Barbacoa: Colorado *nena* 'walk.' Choco: Catio *nenu.* Warrau *nao.* Some of these forms may belong under ROAD$_1$ below.
Andean: Aymara *-ni-* 'go to do something.' Cholona *a-na-n.* Patagon: Ona *enn-en* 'go.' Quechua: Huanacucho *eina* 'go.' Yamana: Yamana *-i:na* 'do while walking,' Yahgan *aina* 'walk.' Zaparo: Iquito *ani,* Arabela *ni.*
Equatorial: Chapacura: Quitemo *nia* 'come here.' Kandoshi *na:* 'go,' *nani*

'come.' Maipuran: Mashco *ena*, Curipaco *no*, Achagua *ina*. Otomaco *ana* 'travel.' Tupi: Arikem *an* 'go.' Yuracare *-ni-* 'go to do something,' future. Zamuco *no* 'go.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *pa-nænæu* 'he comes,' *i-na-powa* 'he came.' Yagua: Yameo *ana*.

Macro-Panoan: Charruan: Charrua *na* 'bring,' Chana *na*. Guaicuru: Toba *anak*. Lule *ne*. Mataco: Mataco *nam*, Choroti *nek*. Tacanan: Cavineña *ba-na* 'visit, come' (probably *ba* 'see' + *na* 'come'). Vilela *na, no, ne*.

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *nĩ*. Caraja *anakre*. Kamakan: Meniens *ni* (imperative). Mashakali: Mashakali *nũn*, Patasho *nanæ*.

• [A72]

151 COME$_2$ **ta*

Hokan: Tonkawa *ta* 'go out.' Atsugewi *-ta* 'out of,' Chimariko *tap* 'out of.'

Chibchan: Cuna *-ta-* 'go,' Xinca *taː*.

Paezan: Itonama *t'o*.

• [H74, CP35]

152 COME$_3$ **tak*

Penutian: Tsimshian *adək* 'turn back.' Plateau: Nez Perce *toq* 'return.'

Chibchan: Cuna *taka*, Paya *tek*.

• [P189, CP36]

153 COME$_4$ **hau*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *how*, Algonquian: Cheyenne *ho*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **hu* 'arrive.'

Paezan: Atakama *hau*, Cayapa *ha*.

• [AK49, CP37]

154 COME$_5$ **pi*

Hokan: Karok *ʔip*. Maratino *apam* 'walk.' Seri *ifp*. Tequistlatec *paʔpa*. Washo *ibi*. Yuman: Mohave *obi, opi* 'return,' Kiliwa *piya*. Yurumangui *ipi, opi* 'come, go.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Barama River *pui* (sing. subject), Galibi *obwi*, Cumanogoto *epu*, etc. Witoto *bi*.

Macro-Ge: Erikbatsa *(is-)pik(-maha)* 'arrive.' Ge: Apinage *pok* 'arrive.' Mashakali: Capoxo *abuy* 'come!,' Macuni *abuih* 'come here!'

• [A9]

155 COOK$_1$ **maki*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **mehŝe* 'fire.' Wakashan: Nootka *m'oḥ-* ∼ *m'o-*.

Chemakuan: Quileute *box*^{w}- 'heat food.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **muHt'*, Chimariko *maq* 'roast.' Comecrudo *met* 'burn.' Pomo: Kashaya *mt'aw* 'be cooked,' *mac* 'burn,' Southeast Pomo *mt'a.* Seri *ka-motni.* Tequistlatec *imagi* 'cooked,' *di-mak'e-ʔma, de-miš-ʔma* 'roasted over hot coals.' Yana *maːsi* 'be cooked, ripe.'

Andean: Mapudungu: Pehuenche *mokomuk.* Patagon: Ona *amk-en* 'burn.' Quechua: Santiagueño *amkay* 'roast.' Yamana *amux-puka.* Zaparo *mahi* (Peake), *maiki* 'roast' (Martius). Culli *mu* 'fire.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Guaque *maxoto* 'fire.'

Macro-Panoan: Lengua *makhit-k*^{y}*i* 'cooked, ripe.' Moseten *mak.* Panoan: Caripuna *muexoa* 'roast,' Panobo *muši* 'burn.'

• [A73]

156 COOK$_2$ **q'*^{w}*aɬ* ∼ *q'*^{w}*al*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **q'*^{w}*al-* ∼ **q'*^{w}*aɬ-* 'cook, burn, ashes,' Proto-Salish **q'*^{w}*al* 'burn to ashes, roast, cook,' Shuswap *q'*^{w}*l-* 'roast,' Twana *q'*^{w}*ələb* 'cook,' Nootsack *k'*^{w}*l* 'cook,' Squamish *q'*^{w}*əl-t* 'cook,' Pentlatch *kwolaš* 'roast, cook,' Seshelt *q'*^{w}*əl* 'cooked, ripe, done,' Lower Fraser *q'*^{w}*ələm* 'cook.' Proto-North Wakashan **q'*^{w}*aɬ* 'burn to cinders.' Proto-Chimakuan **q*^{w}*aɬ-* 'cook, roast,' Chemakum *q*^{w}*aɬili* 'roast.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Mohawk *karis* 'cook.'

Penutian: Proto-Tsimshian **kwælkw* 'wood,' Tsimshian *gwælək* 'burn.' Oregon: Takelma *k'*^{w}*alay* 'fire,' Coos *kwiɬ* 'cook, boil, burn.' Gulf: Proto-Yuki **k'al* 'roast, burn.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *kharhi-pa* 'roast,' Sanema *k*^{w}*arogʔe* 'fire.'

Paezan: Colorado *guaranae* 'boil,' Warrau *koré-* 'boil,' Eten *karrm* 'cook, boil,' Nonama *kura* 'fireplace.' Timucua *k*^{w}*ela* 'burn, melt.'

Andean: Qawasqar *isgura* 'cook,' *qolay* 'warm oneself by the fire.' Tschaawi *kalu* 'cook,' Cahuapana *kalota-* 'cook.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Siona *kuara* 'boil.'

Equatorial: Kandoshi *kora* 'burn,' Wapishana *karimet* 'roast,' Arawak *akkur-ran* 'bake,' Kozarini *kera* 'burn,' Saliba *igara* 'burn, fire,' Yuracare *kula* 'cook,' Siriono *kwarokwara* 'boil,' Yuruna *karigon* 'cook.'

Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Tacana *kwarara* 'boil.'

Macro-Ge: Cayapo *kūrü* 'fire,' Bororo *goriddo* 'roast.'

• [Ruhlen 1994g] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

157 COOK$_3$ **koko*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kahnə̃.*

Penutian: Wappo *k*^{h}*ohk*^{h}*oh* 'boil,' Atakapa *uk* 'boil.' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **hukʔ-ut* 'fire, light.'

Hokan: Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **hoho(n)* 'cook(ed).'
Macro-Tucanoan: Siona *kwako,* Puinave *a-kag.*
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *hok* 'cook in water.' Tupi: Arua *kaʔin* 'fire.' Arawakan: Guamo *kuxul* 'fire.'
Macro-Ge: Ge: Piokobye *kaho* 'fire,' Aponegricran *koxʔho* 'fire,' Mehin *kühü* 'fire,' Taje, Purekamekran *kuhü* 'fire,' Karaho, Apinage *kukuvu* 'fire,' Ramkokamekran *kuxu* 'fire.'
• [P23, MT23]

158 COPULATE **huca*

Penutian: Proto-Gulf **hoša.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(h)uc(a).*

159 CORN **cikcik*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-ciːʔciː-* 'corn tassel, flower.'
Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **čʼɔʔ* 'corn, rice,' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **išiʔim,* Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ceʔs* 'corn granary.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **čuqʎu* 'ear of corn,' Cahuapana: Chayavita *šiʔiši* 'maize,' Miquira *čiči* 'maize.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *saʔa* 'corn,' *saː* 'maize,' Koaia *ačeči* 'maize.'
Equatorial: Chapacura: Pakaasnovos *čiʔ* 'store harvested corn,' Jivaro: Achuar *šaː,* Shuara *šaʔa* 'maize,' Achual, Gualaquiza, Aguaruna *ša* 'maize.' Maipuran: Piro *sixi* 'maize,' Cushichineri *šihi* 'maize,' Canamari *šišie* 'maize.' Timote: Timote, Cuica *čxa* 'maize,' Mocochi *čixsak* 'maize.' Tupi: Kanua *acici* 'maize.'
Macro-Panoan: *Proto-Pano-Tacanan **žikɨ* ∼ **žɨki* 'corn, corncob,' Proto-Panoan **ṣïki,* Maruba *šuki* 'maize,' Culino *čüki* 'maize,' Cashinaua *šöki* 'maize,' Yaminaua *šiki* 'maize,' Yaminaua *šiki* 'maize,' Paranaua, Nishinaua, Chacobo, Pacaguara *šeki* 'maize,' Yawanaua *šʔki* 'maize,' Shaninaua *šʔhi* 'maize,' Waninaua *šöke* 'maize,' Sensi *šinki* 'maize.' Proto-Tacanan **žike,* Araona, Guacanahua, Toromona, Arasa *šiše* 'maize,' Maropa *čixe* 'maize,' Tiatinagua *šiši* 'maize.'
Macro-Ge: Yabuti: Yabuti *cici* 'maize,' Arikapu *čiči* 'maize.'
• An interesting etymology reflecting an agricultural background. For some families (e.g. Iroquoian) borrowing rather than common origin is certainly responsible.

160 COUNT **oši*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-asheː-.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(o)ši.*

161 COVER$_1$ (v.) **tek'u*

Hokan: Washo *ɨc'ig* 'close,' Northeast Pomo *šīk'o* 'blanket,' Karok *-čak* 'closing up' North Yana *dik'au* 'finish,' Tonkawa *tōxa* 'finish.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *šuku-ta-hpe-ni,* Tunebo *teka-ra* 'poncho,' Cuna *tukusiː* 'be hidden.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *atak* 'dress,' Caraja *taku* 'clothing,' Caraja *deku* 'woman's shirt.'

• [H31, H58, CP40, MG31]

162 COVER$_2$ (v.) **sape*

Hokan: Karok *sap* 'close,' Mohave *sapet* 'close,' Yurumangui *sipa-na* 'hat.'

Paezan: Itonama *soʔp* 'finish,' Eten *siaip* 'finish.'

• [H32, CP73]

163 CROW/RAVEN **q'aq'(aq)*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **kaːhkaːkeʔšipa* 'crow, duck,' **kaːkaːk-* ∼ **kaːhkaːkiwa* 'raven'; Proto-Salish **q'ʷlaq'a* ∼ **q'ʷlaqa* 'crow, raven,' Squamish *q'lʔáq'a* 'crow,' Columbian *q'ʷuláqaʔ* 'raven'; Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'a-* ∼ *kaχ* 'crow,' *ɢʷaχʷ-* 'raven,' Bella Bella (Heiltsuk) *qaq'ans* 'crane,' *ɢʷχʷ-* 'raven.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **koːʔkaːʔ* 'crow.' Proto-Siouan **ka-* 'crow,' *okxa* 'crane, heron.'

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **χoːχoχ* 'raven.' California: Proto-Maiduan **ʔaːk'* 'crow,' Maidu *kákka* 'crow,' Northeast Maidu *k'akk'a* 'crow,' Patwin *kaˈk* 'crow,' Yokuts (Chukchansi) *gagnay* 'crow,' Rumsen *kákaru* 'crow.' Zuni *kokko kʷʔinna* 'crow, raven.' Gulf: Wappo *kaʔ* 'crow,' *k'ek'* 'crane,' Yuki *kak* 'blue heron,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k'ak'* ∼ *ʔak'* ∼ *k'aʔak'* 'crow, raven,' Atakapa (Eastern) *kahak* 'crow,' Atakapa (Western) *kak* 'raven, crow,' Chitimacha *k'aːk'š* 'heron.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k'aʔw* 'jay, magpie, sanate,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔoːkʔoːʔk* 'squirrel cuckoo.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q'aːq'V* ∼ **q(χ)aːq* 'crow, raven,' Proto-Pomo **xaqaːqa* 'quail,' Proto-Yuman **aʔkak* 'crow,' Yuma *aʔkak* 'crow.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **ka* 'crow, hawk, eagle, buzzard.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *kʷʰaki* 'raven.'

Paezan: Timucua *kaka* 'crow.'

Andean: Qawasqar *q'awaceno* 'raven,' Proto-Quechuan **kukuli* 'bird.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *kakori* 'bird,' *kuku-* ∼ *kukuhi* 'hawk.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **kaʔini* 'bird.'

• This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Dene-Caucasian and Austric (Ruhlen 2006).

164 CRY$_1$ (v.) **wuni*

Chibchan: Malibu: Chimila *oni.* Misumalpan: Miskito *ini.*
Paezan: Paez *une.* Warrau *ona.*
Macro-Panoan: Lengua *wuneyi.* Proto-Panoan **wini.*
• [A75]

165 CRY$_2$ (v.) **ʔipu*

Hokan: Washo *iʔb,* Jicaque *piya,* Karok *ʔivũr* 'weep for.'
Macro-Ge: Chiquito *ipu,* Tibagi *fua,* Mashakali *opo* 'he cries.'
• [H34, MG26]

166 CUT$_1$ **q'^{w}at*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **χ^{w}a(t),* Wakashan: Kwakwala *qat-* 'cut crosswise,' *χ^{w}t-* 'cut grooves on a swelling,' Heiltsuk *χ^{w}t-* 'cut with a knife,' Haisla *q'at* 'cut with a chisel.' Salish: Proto-Coast Salish **k'ə(x^w)* 'cut, sever, carve,' Proto-Interior Salish **k'ət'* 'cut, crack, break off.' Proto-Chimakuan **q'atsi* 'cut off square.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan *kat* 'cut.' Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kwaht* 'cut off.'
Penutian: California **k'ut,* Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **k-ṭ* 'cut, scratch.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **k^{y}at.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **qoti.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **kutu* 'cut off.'
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **kɨti.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Taranoan **akətə,* Pemon *aketi.* Bora *k^{w}aʔtaʔɨro* 'cut, cut up, chop.'

167 CUT$_2$ **cik^w*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Salish **c'əw,* Wakashan: Kwakwala *cka* 'cut out bushes, clear a trail.'
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **cuk',* Proto-Mixe-Zoque *siːʔw* 'cut into (as a rope).'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **C'u.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **ciga,* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **sik.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **śiki-.*

168 CUT$_3$ **t'an*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *no-toan* 'knife.' Mosan: Salish: Squamish *tlač-tən* 'knife,' Seshault *łɛč'-tən* 'knife,' Nootsack *łač'-tn* 'knife,' Tillamook *hʊq-tən* 'knife,' Lillooet *x^{w}əēk-tən* 'knife.'
Penutian: Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *tʌŋ* 'cut down.'
Hokan: Jicaque *t'ï* 'chop.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *t'ã* 'cut,' Isleta *t'ẽ* 'cut,' Towa *c'aʔ* 'cut': Proto-Oto-Manguean **Htaʔn* 'break, cut, knife.'
Chibchan: Viceyta *tionko* 'cut.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Tucano *tɨne* 'break'; Movima *tan-na* 'cut.'
Equatorial: Munduruku *t'ut'u* 'cut,' Machiguenga *tontimaroʔ* 'cut.'
Macro-Ge: Botocudo *tan* 'break,' Coroado *tina(n)* 'knife.'
• [Ruhlen 1994g] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

169 CUT$_4$ **q'ec ~ *q'ac*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **kiːškyawi* 'cut off.' Proto-Chimakuan **q'atsi* 'cut off square.'
Penutian: Tsimshian *qʔoc*, Klamath *qd*, Nez Perce *k'iːw-*. Gulf: Proto-North Yuki **kič*, Wappo *k'eč-* 'cut,' *kač-* 'cut, break,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k'ɔʔc*, Atakapa (Eastern) *kec ~ koc ~ kuc*, Proto-Muskogean **kač-*.
Hokan: Yurumangui *a-ukasa*.
Paezan: Timucua *kočo*. Millcayac *ketčewina*.
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **kuču-*.

170 CUT$_5$ **t'ek*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *tik* 'cut through.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ṭ'eK ~ ṭeK'*, Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **t'eh*.
Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **t'ega*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tek*.
Macro-Panoan: Moseten *tec*.

171 DANCE **taluk*

Paezan: Itonama *tuluke*, Colorado *terake-de*.
Macro-Tucanoan: Yuri *taröhene*, Movima *telo*.
• [CP43, MT25]

172 DARK **t'umak*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *cmey* 'be evening.' Kutenai *tamoxu-inc* 'be dark.' Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *tom-* 'dark,' *tomiːs* 'charcoal.'
Keresiouan: Keresan: Laguna *c'amišt^y*.
Penutian: Tsimshian *g^{y}iː-c'iːp* 'yesterday.' Oregon: Yakonan *caʔmasiyu* 'shadow.' Plateau: Klamath *č'mog*. California: Yokuts *čiːmʔeːk* 'get dark'; Wintun: Patwin *sunol* 'night.' Gulf: Yukian: Yuki, Huchnom *suːm* 'yesterday,' Clear Lake *somi* 'yesterday,' Wappo *sum* 'evening,' Chitimacha *c'ima* 'night,' Atakapa *tem* 'night,' *teng* 'night,' Muskogean: Choctaw *tampi*, Koasati *tamoxga* 'night,' Natchez *tamuyaː* 'yesterday.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *coʔm* 'midnight'; Huave *tim* 'yesterday'; Mayan: Huastec *camul* 'night.'

Chibchan: Lenca: Chilanga *cuba* 'night.' Misumalpan: Miskito *timia* 'night.' Xinca *syma* 'night, black' (Maldonado), Chiquimulilla *suʔmax* 'black,' Yupultepec *c'yöma* 'night.'

Paezan: Jirajara: Ayoman *tem* 'black.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Urupa *etim* 'night,' Itene *issim* 'night.' Uro: Callahuaya *thami* 'night,' Caranga *sumči,* Chipaya *somči.*

• [A76] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

173 DAY **q'ʷai*

Almosan: Proto-Algic *kečhaːy-* 'be day,' Proto-Algonquian **-kiːšek* 'day,' **kiːšeʔɬwa* 'sun,' **-axkwaɬeː* 'light.' Wakashan: Heiltsuk *k'ʷqa* 'day, daylight,' Kwakwala *k'ʷqaɬa* 'light, daylight.' ?Proto-Salish **c'ak'ʷ* (metathesis) 'light, bright.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *čiʔr* 'light (n.)'

Penutian: Proto-Mayan **q'i-x/č(a),* Proto-Quichean *q'iːxʸ* 'day, sun,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque *kih* 'give light.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ačik* ∼ **ački* ∼ **akči* 'light.' Cahuapana: Cahuapana *keki* 'sun,' Jebero *köki* 'sun.'

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran *kečɨ* 'sun,' Terena *kače* 'sun,' Piro *kači* 'sun,' Caliponau *kaši* 'sun,' Paumari *kasiri* 'sun.' Pakaasnovos *ček* 'day,' *čina* 'sun.' Kariri: Sapuya *uče* 'sun,' Kamuru *učih* 'sun.'

Macro-Carib: Rucuyene, Apalai, Aracaju, Apingi *čiči* 'sun,' Bakairi *čiši* 'sun,' Yaruma *cizi* 'sun,; Waiana, Upurui *šiši* 'sun,' Chiquena *sesi* 'sun,' Parucoto *uči* 'sun,' Yecuana *zi* 'sun.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ç̣ine* 'day, afternoon.'

• [P145]

174 DEER$_1$ **sula*

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Sumu *sana, sulu* 'dog,' Ulua *sana, solo* 'dog,' Matagalpa *sulo.* Rama: Rama *sula, suli* 'animal,' Guetar *suri.* Talamanca: Terraba *šuring,* Bribri, Estrella *suni,* Cabecar *sunri.*

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Guana *nsenok,* Sanapana *sienak,* Angaite *łonak.* Mataco: Mataco *asinax* 'dog,' Vejoz *sinax* 'dog,' Choroti *sona* 'red deer.'

• [A77]

175 DEER$_2$ **taʔ*

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **taʔ,* Caddo *daʔ.* Proto-Siouan **ta.*

Central Amerind: Azteco-Tanoan: WT 96 **t'üna* 'antelope,' Tanoan: Kiowa *t'a-p,* Taos *t'o(-na),* Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 123 **te, *tek* 'deer.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 39 **(Y)(n)te(H)(n)* 'fox, wolf, dog, etc.'

• [A78]

176 DEER$_3$ **mana*

Chibchan: Motilon: Barira *maːna* 'meat.'
Paezan: Barbacoan: Cayapa *mana.*
Andean: Jebero *amana* 'jaguar,' Auca *mẽnẽ* 'jaguar.'
• [CP46, AN60]

177 DESIDERATIVE **-he*

Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Tacana *-ha* (desiderative); Guaicuru: Abipone *ihe* 'to wish.'
Macro-Ge: Opaie *-he* 'to wish.'
• [G82]

178 DIE$_1$ **maki*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **maːɬ* ∼ **miːɬ* 'sleep,' Wakashan: Kwakwala *mk*^{w}- 'kill fleas in the teeth.' Proto-Chemakuan **m'aɬ-* 'sleep.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-mɨǰid*^{z}*a* 'kill.'
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **maːhʔ* 'sleep (v.)'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i/a)ma* 'kill,' **ma* 'die,' **(i/a)mi(ː)* 'sleep,' Comecrudo *n-ome-t* 'sleep.' Esselen *moho* 'he died.' Jicaque *maha* 'sleep' (n.) Karankawa *mal* 'dead,' *im* 'sleep.' Salinan: San Antonio *me* 'sleep,' *emaː-ṭ*^{h} 'kill' (with causative *-ṭ*^{h}). Seri *-iːm* 'sleep.' Subtiaba *ami* 'sleep.' Tequistlatec *ma* 'die,' *maʔa* 'kill.' Yana: Central Yana *ʔamʔd*^{z}*i* 'kill.' Proto-Yuman **miːyaka* 'lie down,' Diegueño *melay.* Yurumangui *umu, uma* 'he is lying down,' *a-ima-sa* 'kill.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 128a **muk, *muki* 'die' (sing. subject), M 128c **mu* (no reconstructed meaning; glosses 'be sick, kill, die, etc.'), M 128d **mek, *me* (no reconstructed meaning; glosses 'die, kill, be sick, etc.').
Chibchan: Chibcha *muysua* 'dream.' Cuna *ma, mai* 'lie down.' Misumalpan: Ulua, Sumu *ami* 'sleep.' Yanoama: Shiriana *mi* 'sleep,' Yanomam *mi* 'sleep,' *mahari* 'dream.'
Paezan: Warao *muan.*
Andean: Mapudungu [umaugh] 'desire to sleep,' *umaq* 'dream.' Aymara *amaya* 'corpse.' Patagon: Tehuelche *ma* 'kill,' Ona *mašenk* 'be sleepy.' Quechua: Santiagueño, Cochabamba *maqa* 'hit.' Sabela: Tuwituwey *mu* 'sleep.' Yamana *mamaia, umamaia* 'kill,' *maki* 'hit.' Zaparo: Zaparo *maki* 'sleep,' Andoa *maki* 'sleep,' Iquito *amuhe* 'kill,' *makə* 'sleep,' Arabela *mo* 'kill.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *moa* 'spirits of the dead.' Huari: Huari *ime,* Masaka *aimæ.* Iranshe *mɨ̃na* 'kill,' Puinave: Puinave *možei, možoi* 'dead,' Papury *mehoi* 'kill,' Tiquie *memiei* 'kill,' Maku-Puinave *mau* 'kill.' Tu-

cano: Uasona *mad^{z}egə* 'kill.'

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **mahi-ta/teka* 'sleep,' Guahibo *mahi-ta* 'sleep,' Guayabero *moxitan* 'sleep.' Proto-Maipuran **imaka* 'sleep,' Apurina *maka* 'sleep,' Machiguenga *mag^{y}e* 'sleep,' Chana *makasi* 'sleep,' Piapoco *maːku* 'sleep,' etc. Timote: Cuica *muː* 'fall asleep.' Proto-Tupi-Guarani **manõ,* Oyampi *mahẽ* 'dream.' Uro: Callahuaya *mexana* 'sleep.' Yaruro *mũa* 'sleep.' Zamuco: Zamuco *amo* 'sleep,' Ebidoso *omog* 'sleep,' Guaranoco *amo* 'lie down.' Achuar *maːtin* 'kill.' Pakaasvovos *miʔ pin.*

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Mocovi *omma* 'bed,' *ommakte* 'finish,' Abipone *la-amači* 'finish,' Guachi *amma* 'sleep.' Lengua *mašeyi, mašoy* 'sleep.' Mataco: Choroti *y-ome* 'extinct,' *me* 'sleep,' Chulupi *wo-miš* 'finish,' Mataco *mo* 'sleep,' Choropi *imak* 'sleep,' Enimaga *ma* 'sleep.' Moseten *moñi* 'perish, lose.' Proto-Panoan **mawa-,* Culino *yamai,* Cashinahua *mawa,* Shipibo *mama* 'dream,' Caripuna *makö.* Tacanan: Proto-Tacanan **manu,* Cavineña *maho.*

Macro-Ge: Mashakali: Mashakali, Monosho *monon* 'sleep,'; Macuni *moñung* 'sleep,'; Capoxo, Kumanasho *mono* 'sleep.' Opaie *moye* 'die.' Puri: Coropo *mamnon* 'sleep.'

• [A79]

179 DIE$_2$ **tumpa*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **tumn* 'dead.'

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *tʔom* 'kill.' Gulf: Chitimacha *tuw,* Wappo *t'ám'iʔ* 'kill.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **sua* ∼ **suwa.*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **t^{h}õo-* 'kill.'

Andean: Qawasqar *taf* (*f* < **m*; cf. BEARD). Gennaken: Pehuelche *team* 'dead.' Cahuapana *timini.*

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **tɨpa,* Guahibo *tipa.* Kandoshi: Kandoshi *cipaː,* Murato *čipoa* 'kill.' Maipuran: Resigaro *tabana-ki* 'you (pl.) kill.' Tupi: Uruku *topava* 'is dead,' Mekens *tsumpatn, zumba* 'kill.' Yuracare *tubi.* Zamuco: Ebidoso *dãbio* 'corpse.'

• [A80]

180 DIE$_3$ **t'iq'*

Almosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *č'iq-* 'kill, dead.' Wakashan: Nootka *č'iq-* 'inflict harm,' Kwakwala *cyχ-* 'kill wounded game.' Proto-Salish **tix^w* 'kill (game).'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-st'u.* Proto-Siouan **tVqe* 'die, dead.'

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **tinax* 'die, recover, cure, pain,' Tsimshian *dzæk* 'kill.' Plateau: Klamath *c'oːq',* Proto-Sahaptian **tiʔn.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a)ṭ'iK* 'kill.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **te.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **ti(n).*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *tohte* 'kill.' Timucua *tani.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *tikoina* 'kill.'
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *toʔ paʔ* 'hit and kill.'
Macro-Carib: Witoto: Muinane *dʔɨi.* Yagua *diːy.* Carib: Pemon *tika* 'kill,' *etika* 'die.'
Macro-Ge: Caraja *ituæ* 'finish.' Fulnio *t^{h}o.* Ge: Proto-Ge **tü, *tür, *tük,* Karaho *tü* ∼ *tük,* Cayapo *tu.* Kaingang: Tibagi *tere,* Southern Kaingang *nde.* Kamakan *dau* 'death, kill.'
• [A81]

181 DIE$_4$ **kam*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **kam-i,* Proto-Quichean **-kam.*
Hokan: Coahuiltecan: Comecrudo *kamau* 'kill.'
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kama.*

182 DIE$_5$ **yak*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **yak-kaʔ* 'kill, knock down.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ya.*
Andean: Qawasqar *yexanar* 'die,' *yeqstawes xar* 'kill lice.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **yai-ria.*
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **yuka* 'kill.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **iye-* 'kill.'

183 DIE$_6$ **nek*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **neʔtaːwa* 'kill.'
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **nakx* 'kill.'
Paezan: Timucua *nihi* 'die, dead, death.'
Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *nox* 'dead.'

184 DIE$_7$ **wanu*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **wenčineːwa* 'die from, ill.' Proto-Mosan **wa(ː)* 'dead.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **woːno.*
Chibchan: Tarascan *wantikuni* 'kill.' Yanomam *waika* 'kill.'
Paezan: Warao *waba* 'die.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **wañu.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **wẽĩ-hẽ* 'kill.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *we* 'kill.'
Macro-Ge: Fulnio *we* 'kill,' Caraja *una* 'dead body.'

185 DIG$_1$ **(o)kua*

Almosan: Kutenai *k'a* 'hole, pit'; Mosan: Salish: Tillamook *kuyi* 'dig.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *oka-* 'make a hole'; Siouan: Proto-Siouan **oka* 'hole,' Catawba *ka* 'hole.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Taos *ko,* Towa *koʔ,* Jemez *ke.* Proto-Oto-Manguean R 122 **(ʔ)ka(h)* 'dig, break.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Hale) **kV_1* 'to plant' (V_1 represents a correspondence for which no proto-sound is given).

Chibchan: Aruak: Bintucua *kui* 'dig up.' Chibcha: Pedraza *kui,* Manare *kaya* 'hole.' Cuna *kwisa.* Guaymi *gu* 'hole.' Motilon *oka* 'hole.'

Paezan: Paez *uxw.*

Equatorial: Maipuran: Kustenau, Mehinacu *ako* 'hole' (deduced from 'nostril' = 'nose hole'), Guana *aka* 'nostril,' Toyeri *(ua-)he* 'hole.' Piaroa: Saliba *aha* 'mouth.' Trumai *-xu* 'hole' (deduced from nostril). Tupi: Yuruna *kwa* 'hole,' Shipaya *ikua* 'hole.' Cf. Jivaro: Gualaquiza [hua] 'hole,' (probably *wa*).

• [A82]

186 DIG$_2$ **tik*

Hokan: Chimariko *cik.* Jicaque *tok.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *toʔu.* Ticuna *to.* Tucanoan: Tucano *ʔoteʔe* 'I dig,' Wanana *toa-ha* 'I plant.'

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Choroti *tei, tehi,* Vejoz *tix,* Suhin *tuku* 'to plant.' Tacanan: Chama *teo.*

• [A83]

187 DIG$_3$ **(w)ali*

Penutian: California: Miwok: Central Sierra *ʔo:lu,* Northern Sierra *ole.* Yukian: Wappo *ɛli* 'dig a hole.'

Andean: Aymara *aʎi.* Cahuapana *iwalo-töčok, iwalo-lallu* 'hollow.' Quechua: Cochabamba, Ecuadorean *aʎa.* Yamana *wön-.*

• [A84]

188 DIMINUTIVE$_1$ **-ihsa*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **-ehsa* (as in **ne-tān-ehsa* 'my daughter'), Yurok *cān-ūk-s* 'young child'; Proto-Mosan **-ʔisa,* Wakashan: Nootka *t'an'ē-ʔis* 'child.'

Penutian: Proto-Penutian (Freeland 1931) **-si,* Plateau: Cayuse *kwun-asa* 'girl,'; Proto-Gulf **-aʔsi,* Muskogean: Koasati *cika-si* 'younger son,' *ǽto-si* 'infant child.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **-(')tsi* (Freeland 1931), **-č'i* (Kaufman 1988), Chumash *ma-k-ič-tuʔn* 'my son' (literally, "the-my-diminutive-son").

Central Amerind: Oto-Manguean: Mixtec *táʔnù iʔšá* 'younger sister' (*iʔšá* = 'child').
Paezan: Paez *kuen-as* 'young woman.'
Andean: Cahuapana *willa-ša* 'boy, girl.'
Equatorial: Esmeralda *tini-usa* 'daughter'; Arawakan: Maipuran: Amuesha *koy-an-ešaʔ* 'girl.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Macusi *taŋ-sa* 'girl.'
Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Suhin *tino-iče* 'young woman'; Tacanan: Chama *e-g^{w}an-asi* 'woman.'
• [Ruhlen 1994b]

189 DIMINUTIVE$_2$ **-mai*

Central Amerind: Uto-Aztecan: Luiseño *tuʔ-mai* 'woman's daughter's child,' Cahuilla *ne-suŋa-mah* 'my daughter.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Masaka *tani-mai* 'younger sister.'
Equatorial: Arawakan: Chapacura: Chapacura *tana-muy* 'daughter,' Itene *tana-muy* 'girl'; Maipuran: Yavitero *nu-tani-mi* 'my daughter.'
• [Ruhlen 1994b]

190 DIRTY **c'i*

Penutian: Proto-Maiduan **c'ey*, Proto-Quichean *c'iːl.*
Hokan: Proto-Pomo **c'aʔc'a.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **nʔaːcʔiː.*

191 DO **ʔaχ*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **ʔaχ-* 'do thus,' Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔχa* 'do, make, put, get,' Proto-Algic **aːk-* 'make.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ʔa-*, Proto-Tacanan **a-.*

192 DOG$_1$ **(a)kuan*

Almosan: Proto-Chimakuan **kinano.*
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **k'akana* 'wolf.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q^{h}uw(a[n/w])* 'fox,' Achomawi *kuan* 'silver fox.' Tonkawa *ʔekuan.* Yana: North Yana *kuwan-na* 'lynx.' Yurumangui *kuan.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^{w}a* 'wolf, coyote.' Proto-Tanoan **ka-* 'wolf, dog.'
Chibchan: Lenca: Similaton *aguingge* 'deer,' Guajiquero, Opatoro *ahuingge* 'deer,' Chilanga *ak'uan* 'deer.' Tarascan *axuni* 'deer, animal.'
Andean: Qawasqar *qyoncar* 'fox.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *xino.*
Equatorial: Esmeralda *kine.*
Macro-Panoan: Guisnai *acüna.* Vilela *huan-okol.*

• [A86] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, and Dene-Caucasian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994). It would appear that this is the Proto-Amerind word for 'dog,' which the Amerind people brought with them from Asia, along with the dogs.

193 DOG$_2$ **kucu*

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *k'^{w}s-* 'wolf.'
Penutian: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **kiš* 'fox, dog, wolf,' Atakapa *šaks* (< **ša-kiš*) 'fox, lynx,' Chitimacha *kiš.*
Hokan: Washo *gušu,* San Antonio *xuč,* Coahuilteco *kačo'wa.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **cu,* Piro *cue.*
Paezan: Millcayac *guaza.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *kašolo.*
• [H41, CA28, MC12]

194 DOG$_3$ **c'iʔ ~ *c'uʔ*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-chuʔ-* 'fox,' Tuscarora *či-ihnaks* 'fox,' *čir* 'dog.' Proto-Keresan **cuski* 'fox.'
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **c-q-l* 'dog, coyote,' Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **sʔixi,* Takelma *cʔixi.* California: Proto-Yokuts *čeː-.* Gulf: Wappo *čuicu.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan **c'iʔ.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **č^{h}i,* Proto-Pomo **cihmewa.* Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlaltec **ci.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **cu.* Proto-Tanoan **cu-.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **č̣usč̣u(s).*

195 DOG$_4$ **ari*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔwl-* 'wolf.'
Andean: Zaparo *ʔariauku.* Qawasqar *arqase* 'female wolf.'
Equatorial: Yaruro *areri.* Piaroa: Saliba *oli.* Pakaasnovos *ʔoromiyak.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *arimaraka.*

196 DOG$_5$ **dia*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **diya.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **dia-yai*

197 DOG$_6$ **nuq*

Almosan: Wakashan: Haisla *nq-* 'fox.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **nɨti* 'prairie dog.'
Penutian: Tsimshian *nuqaːcʔa* 'fox.'
Andean: Cahuapana: Chayavita *niʔini,* Cahuapana, Jebero, Miquira *nini.*

Macro-Panoan: Ashuslay *niu*, Suhin *niuʔux*, Chorote *noː*, Maca *nunnax*, Choropi *nuːx*.

198 DOG$_7$ **puku*

Penutian: Proto-Yokuts **puʔus*. Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔuku*.
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **puku*.
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *pako*.
Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **xĩiʔko*.

199 DOG$_8$ **waš*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *w'as-*.
Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *waškup*, Proto-North Yuki **həʔwəšit'*.
Chibchan: Tarascan *wiču*.
Paezan: Proto-Choco **usa*.
Andean: Selknam *uešn*.
Macro-Tucanoan: ?Iranshe *wašik^{y}u* 'wolf fruit.'

200 DOVE **kowi*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **s/howin*.
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **KuwE* 'oriole,' Proto-Yuman **kuwiʔ*.
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **howi*.

201 DRY$_1$ **ana*

Andean: Mapudungu *angk-ün* 'become dry.' Itucale *hana*. Cahuapana *añi*, *ana-pa-ʎi*.
Macro-Carib: Carib: Kaliana *ti-ana-le* 'hard,' Surinam *yaʔna* 'hardness.' Witoto: Muinane *ane-de* 'to harden.'
• [A91]

202 DRY$_2$ **caqi*

Almosan: Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan **siq-* 'dry (v.),' Heiltsuk *siqa* 'dry (v.)
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **cakl*, Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *c^{h}akkaluː*. Proto-Gulf **čap*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **c'a* 'dry, withered, dead.' Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **čaqiʔ(i)x^y*.
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **sʔay*.
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **čaki*.

203 DUAL **si*

Penutian: Oregon: Coos *kwi-s-* 'let us-two . . . ' (verbal prefix, cf. *kwi-n* [plural cohortative]). California: Maiduan: Maidu *-sa* (dual of pronouns).

Gulf: Wappo *iː-siː* 'we-two' (? = 'I + DUAL').

Hokan: Yana *ux-si* 'two' (literally, 'two-dual'); Chumash: Chumash *-š-* (dual), Santa Barbara *iš-kom* 'two'; Washo *-ši* (dual marker on pronouns and nouns); Esselen *-š* ∼ *-č* (plural of pronouns, possibly deriving from a dual; cf. Esselen *leš* 'we' with Washo *leš* 'we-two exclusive'); Karok *iθ-* (dual subject of verbs); Chontal *-ši* (suffix on numbers two through five with animate nouns).

• [G29]

204 DUCK **q'atq'at*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *q'wt-*.

Penutian: Proto-Sahaptian **χeːtχet.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q'aṭ'q'aṭ'* 'duck, crane.'

• Reduplication may be an innovation of Penutian and Hokan.

205 DURATIVE **la*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-laː.*

Penutian: Proto-Sahaptian **la,* Proto-Coos-Takelma **-(a)l-* ∼ **-lha-* (continuative)

206 DURATIVE/PUNCTUAL **-a/*-i*

Almosan: Wakashan: Quileute *-a* (durative)/*-i* (punctual).

Penutian: Oregon: Coos *-at* (durative)/*-it* (punctual), Gulf: Wappo *-a* (durative)/*-i* (punctual);

• [G73]

207 DUST$_1$ **pur*

Chibchan: Cuna *puru* 'ashes,' Uncasica *bura* 'ashes,' Manare *oka-bora,* Move *ñio-bru,* Guatuso *purun.*

Paezan: Catio *pora* 'dust,' Choco: Embera *p^{h}ora.*

Andean: Lupaca *purka* 'ashes.'

Equatorial: Shuara *pupuːr* 'dust,' Bare *baridi* 'ashes,' Wapishana *parati,* Goajiro *purpura* 'dust.'

Macro-Panoan: Taruma *gula-paru* 'powder.'

Macro-Carib: Yagua *pupāndru* 'ashes.'

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **prə* 'ashes,' Krenje *pro,* Cayapo *pra* 'embers,' Guato *(ma-)fora(-ta)* 'ashes,' Caraja *brībi.*

• This root is also found in Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Eurasiatic, Dravidian, Burushaski, and Australian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

208 DUST$_2$ *pe

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *p^{h}æ̃-ẽ.* Proto-Oto-Manguean R 154 *k^{w}e.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *fu.* Choco: Chami *fu* 'flour,' Catio *po, fo* 'flour.'
• [A92]

209 DWELL *ʔu

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *-ʔu.*
Penutian: Proto-Maiduan *-ʔu 'be there,' Proto-Gulf *ʔuki 'dwell, sit.'

210 EAGLE *ʔasa

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *ša 'eagle,' *ʔVšA:yV 'buzzard,' Proto-Yuman *ʔasa 'eagle,' *ʔase 'buzzard.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *ʔas,* Proto-Oto-Manguean *Ysi 'eagle, buzzard.'

211 EAR$_1$ *kamon

Hokan: Proto-Pomo *xi:mañ.*
Chibchan: Misumalpan: Mosquito *kiama.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *komete, komeh.* Kaliana *kaũhĩ.* Puinave: Dou *kumaẽ.* Tucano: Bahukina *kamuka,* Waikina *kamono,* etc.
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran *kema 'hear,' Moxo *sama* 'hear,' Piro *xema* 'hear,' Tereno *kamo* 'hear,' Apurina *kema* 'hear,' etc. Timote: Timote, Cuica *ki-kumeu.* Cf. Proto-Guahiban *hume-tane 'hear,' Guahibo *hometa* 'hear.'
• [A93]

212 EAR$_2$ *kana

Penutian: Gulf: Choctaw *ikhana* 'hear,' Proto-Yuki *həl* 'hear,' Yuki *hãl* 'hear.'
Paezan: Mura: Bohura *hane-apue.*
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran *kenp^{h}i(-da),* Moxo *nu-kiña.* Uro *kuñi.*
• [P106, E34]

213 EAR$_3$ *pa(n)

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *pe:ntamwa 'hear.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *-pe,* Santa Ana *s'-īpe* 'my ear.' Siouan: Hidatsa *apa* 'animal's ear.'
Penutian: Proto-Maiduan *pin 'hear.' Gulf: Tunica *páka* 'reply,' Atakakpa *pah* 'listen,' Muskogean: Creek *poh-ita* 'hear.'
Hokan: ?Proto-Yuman *ʔepuk 'hear.'

Chibchan: Yanoama: Karime *pei-yameke*, Pubmatari *pi-xinkawan*, Sanema *pil-morok*^{w}*iːn*.

Paezan: Mura: Piraha *apu-pay*. Barbacoan: Proto-South Barbacoan **pũki*, Cayapa *puːŋi*, Colorado *punki*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *ep-* ∼ *epue*.

Equatorial: Tupi: Arua *pan-itiwɛ*, Kepkeriwat *u-apia*. Kariri: Sapuya *penix*, Kariri, Dzubucua *beñe*, Kamaru *benyen*.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **banaːli*, Pemon, Yukpa *pana*. Proto-Witotoan **-po*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **pa-*.

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *apa* 'hear.' Karaho *pa* 'hear.'

• [AK58, MG61]

214 EAR$_4$ **naka*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **nakxV* 'hear.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *n'axn'o* 'hear,' Gulf: Atakapa *nak* 'hear.' Mexican: Huave *o-laːg*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **naka*.

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **nukka* 'hear,' Kagaba *nuka* 'hear,' Guamaca *naku* 'hear,' Bintucua *nokou* 'hear.' Malibu: Chimila *nok-* 'hear.' Ika *nóʔkw-ən* 'hear,' Kogui *nukš-ĩ* 'hear,' Dimina *nɨkkwá* 'hear.'

Paezan: Chimu: Eten *nok* 'recognize.' Warrau *noko* 'hear.'

Andean: Quechua: Boliviano *nigri*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **nĩka-* 'hear.'

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *-nĩŋrãŋ* ∼ *niŋrem* ∼ *ningrein* ∼ *ñinkren*. Caraja *nõxõti*.

• [A145]

215 EAR$_5$ **tine*

Paezan: Andaqui *sun-guaxo*.

Andean: Cholona *a-sinn-an* 'hear.' Leco *asoni-čiki* 'hear.' Patagon: Patagon *šene*, Tsoneka *sane*. Teushen *šan*. Selknam *šün*. Manekenkn *šuno*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *i-tẽĩũ*. Ticuna *čin* ∼ *sinu*. Yuri *tinæho*.

Equatorial: Tupi: Guajajara *sane-inamu*.

• [A146]

216 EAR$_6$ **tiki*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **c–k(w)–i-* 'ear, hear,' Proto-Yokuts **t^{h}uk'*, Proto-Mayan **čikin* ∼ **čwikin*.

Paezan: Timucua *tiki* 'ear, hear.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **tɨʔo* 'hear.'

Equatorial: Lokono *-dike*. Manao *teki*.

Macro-Panoan: Lengua *aha-ktik.* Angaite *aua-tik.*

217 EAR$_7$ **ali*

Penutian: Proto-Yuki **həl* 'hear.'
Hokan: Proto-Coahuiltecan **ali,* Comecrudo *ali.*
Chibchan: Rama *ali(s)* 'ear wax.' Yanomam *hĩri* 'hear.' Guaymi: Muoi *ola,* Move, Norteño, Penomeño, Murire, Sabanero *olo.*
Andean: Mapudungu *aʎkɨ-* 'hear.'
Equatorial: Ebidoso *ahre.* Tumraha *ahri.*

218 EAR$_8$ **isa*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-ehše:* 'hear.'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *hə̃hs.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i-sa.*
Equatorial: Tupi: Siriono *e-isa.* Piaroa *ĩse* 'hear.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ića-ka.*

219 EAR$_9$ **mal*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i/a-)ma-l^y(-Ku).*
Central Amerind: ?Proto-Uto-Aztecan **mura* 'ear of corn.'
Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *mera-* 'hear,' Inter-Andine: Guambiano, Totoro *mɨrɨp* 'hear.'
Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **-ma(r)* 'hear.'

220 EAR$_{10}$ **ka*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-ka:* 'hear.'
Penutian: Gulf: Wappo *kah* 'hear.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ka* 'hear.'

221 EARTH$_1$ **ila*

Andean: Cahuapana *wili* 'under.' Quechua: Cochabamba *ura* 'down,' Chinchaysuyu *ula* 'be under,' Santiagueño *ura* 'lower part,' etc. Sabela: Auca *wæ̃* 'under' (Auca has no liquids). Yamana: Yahgan *ilu* 'under.' Cf. Qawasqar *čarakte alalatal* 'lower teeth' (*čarakte* = 'tooth').
Equatorial: Guahibo *ira.* Yuracare *ele* 'earth, mud, under.'
• [A94]

222 EARTH$_2$ **tampi*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **atha:m* 'under,' Cree *ta:mi* 'underneath.' Mosan: Salish: Proto-Salish **timix^w* 'under,' Shuswap *tem'* 'bottom.'

Chibchan: Chibcha: Chibcha *tum* 'mud,' Uncasica *tamara* 'mud,' Tegria *tami* 'mud,' Margua *tabo-ra.* Cuitlatec *ixtame, tamelo* 'field.' Guaymi: Move *thobo,* Sabanero *debbi,* Chumulu *savi-ru.* Talamanca: Borunca *tap,* Cabecar *tamã* 'dirty.' Tarascan *acɨmo* 'mud.' Yanoama: Shiriana *čami* 'mud.' Through a semantic change 'dirty' > 'bad,' the following may also be connected: Motilon *atan, atam* 'bad.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa *tumayi:* 'dirty.' Betoi *dafi-bu.* Chimu: Mochica *tum* 'mud,' Eten *tumo* 'muddy.' Jirajara: Ayoman, Gayon *dap.* Warrau *hobo-to* 'earth, mud' (Warrau *h* < **s*). Through a semantic change 'dirty' > 'bad,' the following may also be connected: Choco: Citara *tumia* 'devil.'

Equatorial: Kandoshi: Kandoshi *ca:po,* Murato *cabo,* Shapra *capo.* Timote *ki-tapo.* Yaruro *dabo* 'sand.'

• [A95]

223 EARTH$_3$ **ama(k)* ~ **ama(t)*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *a:mki,* Cheyenne *-oma-* 'ground,' Beothuk *emer* 'under.' Kutenai *amma:k, ume:* 'underneath.' Mosan: Salish: Pentlatch *me:i,* Nootsack *mix*^{w}.

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *-wẽ-.* Keresan: Santa Ana *m'e:wa* 'mud.' Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan **mã.*

Penutian: Plateau: Yakima *uma, ima* 'island,' Nez Perce *uma* 'island,' North Sahaptin *-ma-, -mɔ-* 'ground, world.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *ɔma.*

Hokan: Chimariko *ama.* Chumash: Santa Barbara *matak* 'mud.' Comecrudo *amat* 'village, town.' Esselen *mathra.* Jicaque *ma, ʔama* (Oltrogge). Karok *am-ta:p* 'dust.' Proto-Pomo **ʔa(h)ma:* (Oswalt), **ʔa(h)maṭ* (McLendon). Quinigua *ama, aba.* Seri *amt.* Subtiaba *mbah, u:mba* 'dust, earth.' Tequistlatec *amac'.* Washo *ŋawa, ŋowa* (Washo *ŋ* < **m*). Proto-Yuman **ʔ-mat.*

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *am* 'island, forest,' *am-tap* 'dew' (*tap* = 'wet'). Mashakali: Mashakali *ahaham,* Capoxo, Macuni *am,* Malali *am,* Patasho *aham.*

• [A96] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

224 EARTH$_4$ **nan(u)*

Penutian: Oregon: Kalapuya *anu.* Plateau: Yakima *neno* 'sand.' Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *nu* 'sand, gravel,' Wappo *nui* 'sand,' Atakapa *ne*; Natchez *ʔino:* 'under'; Chitimacha *ney, neh* 'down.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *dãm,* Isleta *nan,* Taos *nãm,* Tewa *nang.* Proto-Oto-Manguean R 408 **(n)ya* 'dirty, mud, earth, dust.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Huari: Masaka *numay* 'under.' Kaliana *inũbə* 'earth.' Puinave *anuma* 'under.'

Equatorial: Esmeralda *nuane* 'go down.' Jivaro: Aguaruna *nunga* 'under,'

Upano *nungači* 'under.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Carib (general) *nono*, Nahugua *noro*. Witoto: Witoto *enerwe, enie*, Coeruna *noynae*, Miranya Carapana Tapuya *nanünü*. Yagua *nũnĩ* 'field.'

• [A97]

225 EARTH$_5$ **pata*

Andean: Quechua *paca* 'ground,' Hivito *puc*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *bata*, Puinave *(m)baɣtçi*.

• [AN32, MT31]

226 EARTH$_6$ **kake*

Chibchan: Paya *kuka*, Borunca *kak*, Manare *kakka* 'world.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auixiri *okake*, Capixana *kekeke*, Dou *čax*.

• [CP59, MT32]

227 EARTH$_7$ **pile*

Hokan: Tipai *xpiɬ* 'dirty,' Comecrudo *papeleple* 'dirty.'

Paezan: Cuaiquer *piʎ*, Timucua *pile* 'field,' Guambiana *pire*.

• [H40, CP58]

228 EAT$_1$ **pa ~ pe*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-Vpeyeti* 'tooth,' **VʔP* 'by tooth, bite, eat,' Proto-Algonquian **piːʔsmeːwa* 'chew up fine,' **wiːʔɬeniwa* 'eat,' Proto-Central Algonquian **pw-* 'bite, eat,' **po* 'eat,' Arapaho *bi-n*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **-waːwa*, Pawnee *tut-pawa* 'I eat.' Proto-Keresan **-be*. Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Hidatsa *pe* 'eat, swallow,' Crow *apɛ, apa* 'chew'; Yuchi *wawa* 'chew.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **pe*. Wintun: Patwin *ba*; Maidu *pe, pa*. Gulf: Proto-Muskogean **impa*, Hitchiti *pa* (pl. subject). Plateau: Klamath *p'a, p'an*, North Sahaptin *ip*. Yukian: Wappo *paʔ, paʔɛ*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pi-lI ~ *pa-lI ~ *pi-nI ~ *pa-nI* 'eat mush.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **wi* 'chew.'

Chibchan: Yanomam *wa*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Capishana *i-pe* 'tooth.' Proto-Tucanoan **baʔi*, Tucano, Siriono, Desano *baʔa-*, Waimaja, Bara *baː*, Macuna, Barasano *ba-*. Catuquina: Canamari *pu* 'bite.' Kaliana *pa*. Proto-Nambikwara **wiː* 'tooth.' Cf. Paratio, Pankaruru *vovo* 'tooth.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *apo* 'chew.' Yameo *wi-e* 'tooth.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *apoː*. Proto-Panoan **pi*. Tacanan: Guariza *bobi* 'feed.'

• [A98]

229 EAT$_2$ **k'uli ~ *k'uri*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ačhuri.*
Penutian: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k'uɬ* 'eat, swallow.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **k'ol-*
Andean: Cholona *kulu* 'tooth.' Leco *bi-kiri* 'tooth.' Patagon *kurr* 'tooth.' Proto-Quechuan **kiru* 'tooth,' Yanacocha, Lamisto, Ayacucho, Ancash, Quiteño *kiru* 'tooth,' Boliviano *keru* 'tooth,' Junin, Huancay, Chinchaysuyu *xilu* 'tooth.' Zaparo *ikare* 'tooth.' Teushen *korr* 'tooth.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *kalidi* 'gnaw.' Shukuru *kri(-ngo)* 'food, eat.' Tucano: Yupua *kuli* 'chew,' Desana *kuriri* 'bite.'
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **karu* 'eat (intr.).'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Opone *xor* 'tooth.'
Macro-Ge: Botocudo *ni-kore.* Proto-Ge **krẽ ~ *krẽr, *ku(r).* Kamakan: Masacara *(inthug-)krüng.*
• [A99]

230 EAT$_3$ **(h)ama*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **amweːwa, *miːčiwa,* Proto-Central Algonquian **-am-* 'eat small inanimate object,' Chippewa *-am* 'by mouth.' Proto-Mosan **haːma,* Salish: Kalispel *ʔem* 'feed.' Wakashan: Nootka *m'a* 'hold in mouth.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ama,* Achomawi *ām,* Chimariko *-ama-,* Esselen *am,* Quinigua *ama* 'eat fish,' Yana *ma.* Proto-Yuman **ma* 'eat soft food.' Yuma *ama.* Coahuilteco *-haˑm.* Yurumangui *l-ama.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **mi-.*
Equatorial: Otomaco *miʔi* 'tooth.'
Macro-Ge: Monosho *ĩma.*
• [AK59, AK131, H46]

231 EAT$_4$ **k'ama*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **k'aː* 'gnaw,' Proto-North Wakashan **k'ap-* 'gnaw,' Haisla, Kwakwala *k'ap-* 'gnaw.'
Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *k'ušt-,* Natchez *hašku:š.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k'^{w}uš* 'eat,' **k̯aʔm-* 'molar tooth, cheek,' **ko(:)h* 'molar tooth, cheek.'
Hokan: Proto-Coahuiltecan **kai* 'eat up, consume,' **kam* 'eat, drink,' Comecrudo *kai.* Proto-Yuman **kamak.* Proto-Pomo **kuhːu-.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **k'əʔa* 'tooth,' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^{w}a* 'eat,' **ko ~ *ku* 'eat, chew.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **ku* 'eat, bite.'
Paezan: Proto-Choco **k^{h}o.* Warao *kai* 'tooth.' Timucua *ho.*
Andean: Aymara *k'ači* 'tooth.' Proto-Quechuan **kač̣u* 'chew,' **aku* 'chew,' Lupaca *k'ama* 'tooth.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *kaikai.* Kaliana *kaka* 'tooth.' Catuquina: Canamari *k^{y}u-he* 'tooth.'

Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *kaoʔ* ∼ *kakakaoʔ.* Proto-Tupi-Guarani **ʔu,* Caingua *ku* 'tooth.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *ku.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **koko-.*

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **ku(r).* Kaingang *ko.* Hahahay *koma.*

232 EGG$_1$ **na*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **no.*

Andean: Mayna *uːn.* Patagon: Teuesh *na,* Tehuelche *na* 'ostrich egg.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *inaĩ.* Proto-Nambikwara **nau.*

- [A100]

233 EGG$_2$ **tompa*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **-atoː* 'ball.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **tape* 'ball.'

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *doum* 'testicle.' Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **tamam,* North Sahaptin, Nez Perce *tamam,* Kalapuya *atɔmp.* Cf. Mexican Penutian: Mayan: Tzotzil *ton.*

Central Amerind: ?Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)tu(n)* 'egg, fruit, onion, potato, orange.'

Macro-Tucanoan: ?Muniche *saʔma.* Maku-Puinave *tip.*

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **tobɨ,* Guahibo, Cuiva *tobi.* Maipuran: Curipaco *topi.* Trumai *taf.* Pakaasnovos *towiračiʔ* 'testicle.'

- [A101]

234 EGG$_3$ **paki*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **waːwaʔlewi,* Proto-Algonquian **waːwi.*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **p^{h}a,* Takelma *paː-p* 'egg, seed.' Proto-California **p^{h}ak,* Proto-Maiduan **pakpak'.* Gulf: Chitimacha *paci* 'ball,' Natchez *puhs* 'ball,' Muskogean: Creek *pokko* 'ball.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a/i-)piH* 'egg, bone,' **piχe* 'egg,' Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **piʔe.*

Central Amerind: ?Proto-Uto-Aztecan **paːni.* Proto-Tanoan **wa.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **(ʔ)wa(H)* 'ball, round, peach, plum.'

Andean: ?Yamana *ax.*

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **upiʔa.*

Macro-Panoan: Moseten [buisc] *buiš* 'yoke.' Proto-Panoan **βaci.* Lengua *apuk.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *ba* 'egg, testicle,' Umotina *ba.* Puri: Coroado *paki.*

• [A253]

235 EGG$_4$ *c'ik^w

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *c'k^w-* 'sea egg.' Proto-Chimakuan **cick^{w}a-*.
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **siḳawa*.
Macro-Ge: Caraja *tSi*.

236 ELBOW$_1$ *q'ucu

Almosan: Algonquian: Shawnee *kotekwi* 'turn.' Salish: Squamish *k'^{w}ucun* 'crooked.' Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan **q's* 'bend the knee or elbow, poke with the elbow,' Heiltsuk *q'sḷat^{l}ḷa* 'rest on the elbow,' Haisla *q's* 'poke with the elbow.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-hkyu:s-*, Mohawk *aʔktu* 'crooked.' Yuchi *kota* 'crooked.'
Penutian: Proto-Sahaptian **q'aššaynu*, North Sahaptin *k'ašinu*; Yokuts: Yaudanchi *k^{h}ošoyi*, Muskogean: Creek *ekuče:*; Huave *kos* 'knee,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **koso(k)* 'knee,' Mixe *kɔš* 'knee,' Sierra Popoluca *ko:su* 'knee.'
Hokan: Proto-Pomo **q'uhsa*.
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *kuč̣u(š)*.
• [AK52, P63]

237 ELBOW$_2$ *kuk

Penutian: Atakapa *šuk*, Uspantec *čuk*.
Chibchan: Tarascan *kukui-si*, Paya *kokisa* 'knee,' Sinsiga *kuika*.
• [P62, CP61]

238 ELDER$_1$ *ʔa-

Penutian: California: Wintun *o-tun-če* 'older sister,' Proto-Miwok **ʔá-ta* 'older brother,' Lake Miwok *ʔa-táa* 'older brother.' Gulf: Yuki *ʔā-ṭ'át* 'man.' Mexican: Mayan: Kakchiquel *a-čin* 'man,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔa-win* 'elder brother of a woman,' Mixe *a-ts* 'elder brother.'
Hokan: Shasta *ʔá̄-ču* 'older sister,' *ʔa-pu* 'older brother,' Achomawi *a-tūn* 'younger brother,' Washo *-ʔá̄-t'u* 'older brother.'
Central Amerind: Oto-Manguean: Sierra Popoluca *hā-thuŋ* 'father'; Uto-Aztecan: Northern Paiute *a-tsi* 'maternal uncle.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Coreguaje *aʔ-čɨ* 'elder brother,' *aʔ-čo* 'elder sister.'
Equatorial: Tupi: Aweti *a-tu* 'grandfather'; Guahibo: Guahibo *ā-tō* 'elder brother'; Arawakan: Arawa: Paumari *ā-dyu* 'older brother,' ?Proto-Maipuran **ahšeni* 'man, person' (?< **ʔa-teni*), Uainuma *a-ttsiu* 'uncle,' Kustenau *a-tu* 'grandfather.'
Macro-Carib: Yagua: Yameo *a-tin* 'man.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ʔa-wini* 'wife' (for *-win* see FEMALE$_1$ below.

Macro-Ge: Ge: Piokobyé *a-tõn* 'older sister,' *ha-tõn* 'younger brother.'

• [Ruhlen 1994b]

239 ELDER$_2$ **-ko*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **thṹ-kã* 'grandfather,' Assiniboine *tũ-gã́* 'maternal grandfather,' Santee *thũ-kã́* 'maternal grandfather,' Biloxi *tú-kã* 'maternal uncle.'

Penutian: Oregon: Tfalti *čaŋ-ko* 'man'; Zuni *tač-ču* 'father' (if this derives from **tan-ko*); Mexican: Mixe *tsu-gu* 'aunt.'

Central Amerind: Uto-Aztecan: Northern Paiute *to-go'o* 'maternal grandfather,' Mono *cu-ku* 'old man,' Tübatulabal *tu-gu* 'brother's wife,' Kawaiisu *to-go* 'maternal grandfather.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Yuri *čo-ko* 'man.'

Macro-Ge: Ge: Karaho *ton-ko* 'older brother,' Piokobyé *tõn-ko* 'older brother,' Apinaye *tu'-ká* 'paternal uncle, son-in-law,' *tu'-ka-ya* 'maternal grandfather,' *tu'-ka-tí* 'brother-in-law, son-in-law.'; Bororo: Umotina *žu-ko* 'paternal father-in-law' (< **tun-ko*).

• [Ruhlen 1994b]

240 EXCREMENT$_1$ **pa*

Hokan: Chimariko *(hi:-)pxa* 'guts.' Karok *ʔa:f.* Pomo: South Pomo *ʔihp^{h}a* 'guts,' North Pomo, East Pomo *p^{h}a.* Salinan: San Miguel *p^{h}xat* 'guts, excrement.' Seri *ʔapxika:p.* Shasta *ʔi:pxay* 'guts.' Subtiaba: Subtiaba *amba,* Tequistlatec *fay.* Yana: Central, North Yana *p^{h}a-c'i.* Yuman: Cocopa, Tipai *pxa* 'guts,' Kiliwa *p^{h}aʔ* 'guts,' etc. Yurumangui *-fa* in *anga-fa* 'ashes' (= 'fire-excrements')

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *bo, bɨʔɨ.* Misumalpan: Sumu, Ulua *ba.*

Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa, Colorado *pe.* Jirajara: Ayoman *apo:* 'guts.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *pe, epe* 'defecate,' Umotina *opthi.* Ge: Chavante *(im-)pa* 'guts.'

• [A102]

241 EXCREMENT$_2$ **(i)ta(h)*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Caddo *idah.* Iroquoian: Seneca *iʔta.* Proto-Siouan (C) **ĩre.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 10 **(ʔ)ti(ʔ)(n)* 'defecate, intestines, manure.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *aci.* Catuquina *to* 'defecate.' Puinave: Parana Boaboa *taya.* Tucano: Yahuna *ita,* Tucano *e:ta,* Bara *əxta,* Wanana *tə.*

• [A103]

242 EYE$_1$ **(i)to(ʔ)*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **huːt^{h}u* 'see.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ʔat'u* 'eye, head,' Seri *ʔaːto* (Kroeber *ito).* Subtiaba: Subtiaba *s-iːtu* (cf. *iːtu* in *inyiːtu* 'tear'), Tlappanec *iðu.* Yuman: Maricopa *hiðoʔ,* Cocopa *iyuʔ,* Walapai *yuʔ,* etc.

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **t^{h}ewa* 'see, find.' Tanoan: Kiowa *t^{h}ɔ̃-n* 'find,' Jemez *ši* 'see.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **te* 'learn, teach.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **te(w)* 'see.'

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **tu* 'see.' Yanomam *ta* 'see, look.'

Paezan: Choco: Andagueda *tow,* Sambu, Choco, Baudo, Tado, Saija *tau.* Timucua *hoto* 'watch, guard.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Parana Boaboa *tu.* Ticuna *etu, ete.* Yuri *æti, iti.*

Equatorial: Arawak: Guajiro, Paraujano *ta-i.* Cofan *t^{h}aʔt^{h}aʔ* 'look.' Esmeralda *tu.* Proto-Guahiban **ta-Ne* 'see,' **takhu* 'eye,' Guahibo *tae* 'see,' *ta* 'look.' Jivaro: Zamora *ti,* Shuara *hi.* Kandoshi: Kandoshi *k-ači-č,* Shapra *k-ači.* Taruma *a-ci.* Timote *tiyi* 'see.' Yaruro *da* 'see.' Achagua *-toi,* Piapoco *-tui.* Itene *to.*

Macro-Carib: Andoke *doa.* Witoto *etoy.*

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Guachi *yataya,* Pilaga *ite,* etc. Mataco: Macca *toi,* Vejoz *te.*

Macro-Ge: Ge: Krengez *nto,* Cherente *to, toi,* Acroa *ai-nθo,* Chavante, Cherente *-to,* Karaho, Cayapo, Apinage *i-nto,* Aponegricran *i-nθo,* Fulnio, Sakamekran *i-to,* Makamekran *ñoto,* Mehin, Taje, Krenje, Piokobye *n-to.*

• [A104]

243 EYE$_2$ **tene* ∼ **tele*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **činɬčin* 'eye,' **cil* ∼ **cal* 'eye, see.' Tsimshian *cʔal.* Oregon: Takelma *cʔele-y.* Plateau: Nez Perce *silu* 'eye,' *sileːw-* 'see,' Sahaptin *slkpaːs* 'eyebrow,' Klamath *sleʔ* 'see.' California: Proto-Maiduan **c'e* 'see,' Maidu *c'en* 'look.' Zuni *tuna* 'look.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *tuʔn* 'look at.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **čila* 'see.' Proto-Tanoan **ce.*

Chibchan: Guaymi: Norteño *teːn* 'see'; Xinca *tili* 'see.'

Paezan: Millcayac *tene(-kina)* 'see.' Timucua ?*čano* 'see,' ?*ibatele* 'watch, wait, await.'

Andean: Qawasqar *teɬ,* Yamana *tella.*

Equatorial: Piaroa *čiere.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Macusi *tenu.*

• [P150, CP159, AN34]

244 EYE$_3$ **k'an*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-kẽː-* 'see,' Tuscarora *kə̃* 'see,' Mohawk *kã* 'see.' Siouan: Hidatsa *ika* 'see.' Yuchi *k'a* 'watch.'
Penutian: Proto-Yokuts **ʔek'a* 'see.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(Y)k^{w}a(h)(n)* 'look, see, know.'
Andean: Mapudungu *kintu-* 'look for.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *i-kaẽ,* Proto-Nambikwara **eika,* Bendiapa *iku.*
Equatorial: ?Proto-Tupi-Guarani *eča.*
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *-kane* ∼ *-kanæ̃* ∼ *kanem.*

• [AK163, MT36] This root is also found in Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

245 EYE$_4$ **tuki* ∼ **tuku*

Andean: Yamana *teki* 'see.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *tokhe,* Auixiri *atuka.*
Equatorial: Itene *tok,* Santa Rosa *tuxua,* Caranga *čuk^{x}i,* Chipaya *čuki.* Guamo *tüxuä.* Uainuma *-tohi.* Proto-Guahiban **takhu.* Yaru *tekisi.* Pakaasnovos *tok.* Tora *toku.* Urupa *tükesi.* Wañam *tukiču:.* Chapacura *tukuˈči.*
Macro-Carib: Carif *tagu.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **tuka,* Tacana *e-tua,* Huarayo *etoxa.*

• [MT34, E39]

246 EYE$_5$ **q'^{w}aɬ*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **keɬaːpameːwa* 'look at him,' Wiyot *tu-kɬ* 'watch,' Yurok *k^{w}əɬ* 'image.' Proto-Mosan **ɢal-,* Wakashan: Kwakwala *qwāxwa* 'see,' *k'^{w}lχ-* 'see something, site something,' *q'wɬ-* 'look for a place to spawn (said of herring),' *t^{l}ax-* 'look for lice' (metathesis), Nitinat *qaliʔ.* Salish: Pentlatch *kəlom,* Nisqualli *kalob,* Tillamook *-gāɬ-.* Kutenai *-qɬiɬ.* Proto-Chemakuan **ɬaq^{w}o* 'eye' (metathesis), **-ʔalix^{w}i-* 'look for, get, collect' (metathesis), Quileute *-qaɬ* 'look at.'
Keresiouan: Proto-North Iroquoian **kakáhraʔ* 'eyes,' Mohawk *okà̀raʔ* 'eyes,' Oneida *okà̀laʔ* 'eyes.' Proto-Caddoan **kiri(ː)kuʔ,* Pawnee *kirīku* 'eye, look at,' Wichita *kirik'a.*
Penutian: Chinook *kəl* 'see.' Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *k^{hw}illaːk,* Tfalatik *kwallak,* Coos *xwalxwal.* Plateau: Sahaptin *ak'aɬ* 'eyeball,' Klamath *sn'ekl'* 'eyebrow,' *k'elm'a* 'tear,' *q'lamc'* 'close the eyes,' Proto-Yokuts **ʔek'a* 'see,' Wintun *ʔaɬ-ma* 'look.' Proto-Gulf **wol,* Atakapa *wōl,* Proto-Yuki **hul,* Coast Yuki *hul.* Mayan: Huastec *wal,* Tzotzil *k'alel* 'look.'
Hokan: East Pomo *kār-* 'see,' Yana *kel* 'peer,' Cochimi *gir* 'see,' ?Tonkawa *helʔeya* 'look.'

Paezan: Itonama *uy-k'ururu,* Cayapa *querā-* 'appear,' Colorado *kiriasa* 'see.'
Andean: Qawasqar *qualeona* 'look,' Zaparo *karīyā* 'look.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **eika.* Tsöla *kuiri.*
Equatorial: Manao *nu-kurika,* Itene *ikirikira* 'look,' Callahuaya *khura-na* 'see.' Pakaasnovos *kerek* 'see.'
Macro-Panoan: Caduveo *o-gekore,* Opaye *či-gareye.*
Macro-Ge: Mashubi *akari.*

- [AK63]

247 EYE$_6$ **kap*

Almosan: Mosan: Wakashan: ?Kwakwala *ɑp-* 'eyeball.'
Paezan: Atakama *kepi.* Proto-Barbacoan **kap,* Colorado *kapa-ka,* Cayapa *kapu-kua*; Jirajara: Ayoman *a-kibaux*; Paez: Guambiana *kap,* Totoro *kap,* Moguex *kap.* Timucua *kabiči* 'keep watch.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **kape-a,* Uaiana, Pamöa, Patsoca *kape,* Möxdöa *kapea,* Uantya *kapega,* Bara *kapeka,* Erulia, Tuyuca, Waikina *kaxfea,* Sära, Omöa, Buhagana, Tsölöa, Palanoa, Uasöna *kaxea,* Macuna *kaea,* Uanana *kaxpadi,* Tucano *kaxperi,* Urubu-Tapuya *re-kapeã.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Uaimiri *kopanamareː.*

- CP 64.

248 EYE$_7$ **kad*

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **ka(ː)d-* 'see.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *kutakeʔi.*
Macro-Carib: Ocaina *oxöd.*
Macro-Panoan: Toba, Pilaga *kada-,* Komlek *kade-.*
Macro-Ge: Kamakan *an-kedo.* Mongoyo *kedo.* Kutasho *kiθo.*

249 EYE$_8$ **asa* ∼ **aša*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *-aws* 'eye, face.'
Penutian: Proto-Yokuts **sasaʔ.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **aša* ∼ **ax^{y}a.*
Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Araona *-saša,* Toromona *-šaš,* Arasa *-šaša,* Tiatinagua *-saš.*

250 EYE$_9$ **ere*

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **-reːwat* 'look.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **rikaː* ∼ **riku* 'see.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Cataushi *erada.*
Equatorial: Arawakan: Culino *eribu,* Ebidoso *erupi.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *ere* 'watch,' *erema* 'look for.'
Macro-Ge: Caraja *rue.*

251 EYE$_{10}$ **nak*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *n'ak-* 'look, keep an eye on.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-na.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **yãko,* Tama *nakoba,* Coreguaje *nanakoka,* Pioje *nankoa,* Siona *nankoka,* Amaguaje *nañka,* Coto *ñakoa,* Tanimuca *ñakua,* Yupua *yaːkõa.*
Macro-Panoan: Mocovi *niko-te.*
Macro-Ge: Fulnio *naha* 'see.'

252 EYE$_{11}$ **hin*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *hnχ* 'look at one's reflection in water.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **hin.* Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ʔini* 'look for.'
Andean: Zaparo: Shimigae *heniž.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **ĩ(ʔ)yã* 'see.'
Equatorial: Achuar *hĩĩ.* Piaroa: Saliba *hĩpahe* 'see.'
Macro-Carib: Yagua *hĩnuːy* ∼ *hunuːy* 'look at,' *inuː* 'see.'
Macro-Ge: Ge: Kraho *hito.*

253 EYE$_{12}$ **yan*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(ʔ)ya(n)* 'see, hear, know.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **yãko.* Iranshe *ayeni* 'let me see it.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Ingarico *u-yenu,* Yecuana *u-yenuru,* Zapara *u-yonu.*

254 EYE$_{13}$ **oi*

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Orejone *oi,* Witoto *oise.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ʔoĩ* 'see.'

255 FALL (v.) **tik*

Almosan: Kutenai *takχaχou.* Mosan: Wakashan: Bella Bella *tekwa,* Kwakwala *tix*; Chemakuan: Quileute *tukuʔ*; Salish: Nootsack *tiʔč,* Tillamook *tč.*
Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *tak* 'fall one after the other,' Pawnee *itik* 'go down.' Siouan: Catawba *(huk-)tuk* 'fall down' (*huk* = 'down').
Macro-Ge: Botocudo *čik* 'descend.' Ge: Cherente *čikraman* 'descend,' Krenje *tok* 'stumble.'
• [A105]

256 FAN **helu*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **h-l* 'fan' (v.), Proto-Yokuts **ʔileː* 'fan' (v.), Proto-Maiduan **wel-lep'* 'fan' (v.). Gulf: Natchez *meːh-*

heluːʔiš, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **wari* 'fan, weave.'
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran *hewɨ* 'fan' (v.)

257 FAR$_1$ **pali*

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *bal-s* 'long.' Gulf: Atakapa *pel.*
Chibchan: Chibcha: Duit *ebre* 'high.' Misumalpan: Sumu *malix* 'high.' Talamanca: Viceyta *boruk* 'high.'
Paezan: Atacama *pera* 'stretch.' Barbacoa: Cayapa, Colorado *bara* 'long, far.' Warrau *bari* 'long.'
Equatorial: Coche *ibanoy.*
Macro-Ge: Bororo *bari* 'distance.' Kaingang: Southern Kaingang *bra.*
• [A106]

258 FAR$_2$ **ya*

Penutian: Gulf: Atakapa *ya.* Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *yaʔay.*
Chibchan: Cuitlatec *yay-*, Tarascan *io-* 'high, long.'
• [P70, CP66]

259 FAT$_1$ **kui*

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *kuyi.* Talamanca: Tirub *kio.*
Paezan: Timucua *uke.*
Macro-Carib: Nonuya *kwi,* Andoke *kehə.*
• [CP68, MC20]

260 FAT$_2$ **wila*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **wel-* ∼ **welakhw-.* Mosan: Wakashan: ?Proto-North Wakashan **ɢ^{w}wɨ-* 'animal fat,' Heiltsuk *ɢ^{w}luq^w,* Kwakwala *ɢuluq^w* 'tallow.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **wi* 'fat' (n.)
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **wira* 'fat' (n.)

261 FEAR$_1$ **kul*

Hokan: Chimariko *xul* 'bad.' Pomo: East Pomo *kul.* Salinan: San Antonio *šxalo.* Yana *k^{h}ul-* 'bad.'
Macro-Ge: Bororo *kurig(-oddo)* 'be angry.' Botocudo *akran* 'anger,' *krak* 'shame.' Ge: Krenje *krüg* 'be angry.'
• [A107]

262 FEAR$_2$ **pak*

Penutian: Yaudanchi *bax,* Chol *bʔuknian.*
Macro-Panoan: Abipone *n-paːk* 'hated,' Moseten *fakoy* 'hate.'
• [P74, MP34]

263 FEATHER$_1$ *p'at^l

Penutian: Tsimshian *p'əlk'wa* 'bird down.' Oregon: Alsea *pəlupəlu.* California: Maidu: Northeast *butu* 'hair'; Yokuts *pada*; Wintun: Colouse *pote* (probably a borrowing from Yukian: Clear Lake, below). Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *pučaya, puči:š* 'hair,' Clear Lake *p'oti,* Tunica *-puli* 'plummage, hair.'

Hokan: Tequistlatec *li-bela* 'leaf.' Yana: North Yana *t'a:pal-la* 'leaf.'

Andean: Cahuapana: Cahuapana *anpullo-na* 'feather,' Jebero *ambolu* 'feather,' Tschaahui *amporo* 'crown of feathers.' Quechua: Cochabamba *p^{h}uru* 'feather.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Quitemo *ipatiko.* Kandoshi *poro* 'hair, feather.' Maipuran: Campa *biti* 'feather, hair,' Ipurina *piti,* Carutana *ti-pic* 'eyelashes' (*ti* = 'eye'), etc. Otomaco *paro* 'hair.' Uro: Caranga, Chipaya *p^{h}asi* 'wing.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Chayma *ipot* 'hair,' Galibi *ipotu* 'hair,' Wayana *pot* 'feather,' etc. Witoto: Witoto *ifatie, ifatre* 'hair,' Nonuya *ofotar* 'hair.' Yagua *popɛytü* 'feather.'

• [A108]

264 FEATHER$_2$ *pi

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 138 **(n)(h)k^{w}ĩ* 'hair, beard.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 168 **pi.*

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *pa(-ga)* 'fly.'

Paezan: Chimu: Eten *up* 'fly.' Itonama *a-pɨhe* 'fly.' Mura *ipoai* 'wing.'

Andean: Aymara *phu:, phuyu* 'hair.' Cholona *pe* 'hair.' Yamana *api* 'short hair.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Kaliana *-upa.* Tucano *poa* (general in Eastern Tucanoan).

Macro-Carib: Andoke *büweh* 'he flies.' Bora: Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *abukwa.* Witoto: Witoto *ibbe,* Muinane *pe:* 'fly.'

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba *vayo* 'fly.' Mataco: Mataco *fwiya* 'fly,' Chulupi *faiya* 'fly.' Moseten *pañ* 'feather.' Proto-Panoan **piʔi* 'feather, leaf.' Cf. Lule [pülü] 'feather.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *bo,* Umotina *bo* 'plumage.' Botocudo *papa* 'leaf.' Kaingang: Palmas *fei* 'leaf,' Tibagi *fe, feie* 'leaf.' Mashakali: Malali *poe.*

• [A109]

265 FEMALE$_1$ *-win

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-wi:wa* 'wife,' Yurok *ne-ts-iwin* 'my mother-in-law,' Proto-Algonquian **wi:wiwa* 'wife.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **thṹ-wĩ* 'paternal aunt.'

Penutian: Plateau: Nez Perce *ʔin-ci-k'i: -wn* 'my wife's brother' (the sim-

ilarity with the Yurok form—which lacks the *-k'iː-* morpheme—is striking). Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔa-win* 'elder brother of a woman.'

Hokan: Pomo: Southeast Pomo *wi-kwi* 'sister' (< **win-kwi*), ?Tlappanec *ada-tāh-wĩʔ* 'child.'

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **wi-* 'wife,' Tunebo *wiya* 'wife.'

Paezan: Proto-Choco **ïïï* 'woman.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Yuri *wine* 'aunt.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ʔa-wini* 'wife' (almost identical with the Proto-Mixe-Zoque form above), Proto-Tacanan **e-wane* 'wife.'

• [Ruhlen 1994b]

266 FEMALE$_2$ **iš-*

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Pokomam *iš-tan* 'girl,' Kakchiquel *iš-tan* 'señorita.'

Equatorial: Yaruro *išĩ-to-hwĩ* 'small girl' (cf. *to-kwĩ* 'small boy').

Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Parawa *iš-tano* 'woman.'

• [Ruhlen 1994b. This prefix is perhaps related to OLDER FEMALE *wis-*.]

267 FILL (UP) **tumpa*

Penutian: Proto-Yokuts **ṭ^{h}om(o)* 'cover (v.)'

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **timʔorika* 'full.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tem* 'close.'

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *tɨmpa* 'all.' Xinca *tumu* 'finish,' *tumuki* 'all.' Guaymi: Move *debe* 'enough.' Motilon *two* 'all.'

Paezan: Timucua *toːma* 'all, every.' Warrau *tobo* 'full.' Allentiac *topata* 'be full.' Barbacoan: Cayapa *tuwa* 'full.'

Andean: Aymara: Jaqaru *t^{h}apa.* Quechua: Ecuadorean *tapa* 'close.' Yamana: Yahgan *tapa* 'cover oneself.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *tepa* 'close.' Tucano: Siona *tapi-seː* 'closed,' Tucano *tubia* 'stop up.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *tump-s* 'finish.' Mataco: Choroti *tipoi* 'be full.' Panoan: Cashinahua *dəbo* 'finish.' Tacanan: Tacana *tupu* 'it reaches,' Cavineña *tupu* 'enough.'

• [A74] Cf. DIE$_2$. This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

268 FINGER$_1$ **tik*

Almosan: ?Wakashan: Kwakwala, Oowekyala *tk-* 'flick away with the fingers.'

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **tuʔ* ∼ **tu(h)* ∼ **tum* 'one.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **dɨk^{h}i,* Karok *tiːk* 'hand, finger.' Pomo: North Pomo *kowal-tek* 'ten,' *kowal-šom* 'nine' (*šom* = 'minus'; parallel forms in some other Pomo dialects).

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **tu* 'one, alone.'

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Twahka *tiŋke* 'hand,' Ulua, Sumu *tiŋki* 'hand.' Talamanca: Brunca *ecik* 'one.'

Paezan: Nasayuwä *teč* 'one.'

Andean: Quechuan: Quiteño *šuk* 'one,' Cuzqueño, Chinchaysuyu, Ingano *šuk* 'one,' Santiagueño *suh* 'one,' Junin, Nauta *so* 'one.' Mapudungu *tuči* ∼ *čuči* 'which one of ....'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **dika-kɨ* 'arm.' ?Canichana *eu-tixle* 'hand.' Siona *teheke* 'one.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Itene *taka* 'one.' Guamo: Santa Rosa *dixi.* Jivaro: Shuara, Zamora *čikičik* 'one,' Upano *šikitiki* 'one,' Gualaquiza *tikiči* 'one,' Aguaruna *tikiǰi* 'one.' Katembri *tika* 'toe.' Tupi: Purubora *(wa-)toka* (*wa* = 'hand'). Yuracare *teče* 'thumb.' Pakaasnovos *čikaʔ* 'be one.' Tinigua: Pamigua *čixanse* 'one.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Trio *tinki* ∼ *tinkini* 'one,' Accawai *tegina* 'one,' Chayma *teukon* 'one.' Kukura *tikua* 'finger.' Yagua *tiki* ∼ *teki* ∼ *tĩːkiː* 'one,' *tikilo* 'one,' *tekini* 'one.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *po-čik* 'one' (*po* = 'finger'), *ǰik* 'alone.' Proto-Ge **pɨ-ci, *pɨ-cit* 'one,' Kradaho *poːǰi* 'one,' Gorotire *püd^{y}i* 'one,' Kraho *pučite* 'one.' Mashakali *pɨčet* 'one.'

• [A110] This root is also found in Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Yeniseian, Sino-Tibetan, Na-Dene, Indo-Pacific, and Austric (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

269 FINGER$_2$ **k'o*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **kaː* 'hand,' Proto-North Wakashan **k'y-*, Heiltsuk *k'ida* 'little finger,' Kwakwala *k'εda* 'ring finger.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **k'a(ː)-* 'action with hand.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k'ɔ* 'take, seize.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **kɨʔ* 'hand, arm,' **kɨʔ–ʔunV(k)* 'little finger.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **k^{h}o* 'arm.'

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **ko,* Tairona *kai-kuira* 'hand.' Proto-Chibcha **ko-* 'fingernail.' Guaymi: Muoi, Murire *ko* 'hand.'

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *ku(wa)-* 'give.'

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **ko-besi/tiya.* Arawak: Wapishana *kai* 'hand.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **kɨo* 'fingernail, claw.'

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **-(k)aï.*

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *khoho* 'hand,' *ki* 'take, remove,' *ko* 'give.'

270 FINGERNAIL **cikil*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *cɨkɨl,* Totoro *cɨʔgɨl,* Awa *čkwil.*

Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *čikin.*

271 FINISH *hawyi

Almosan: Kutenai *hu* 'finish,' Proto-Mosan **hawyi* ∼ **way-* 'stop, finish,' Proto-Salish **huy* ∼ **wiʔ (<*hwəy')* 'cease, finish,' Squamish *huː* 'finish (transitive),' Snohomish *huyu* 'finish, make, do'; Wakashan: Nootka *hawi* 'finish.' Proto-Chemakuan **hoya-* 'finish,' Quileute *hiyo-do* 'finish.'

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **-hyeː-* 'stop doing.'

Paezan: ?Millcayac *huytagina* 'finish, end.'

• [AK70]

272 FIRE$_1$ *(ʔ)oti

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *ad, doːw* 'burn,' Proto-Algonquian **aːʔteːwi* 'burn,' Blackfoot *ototo* 'burn' (tr.),

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *aʔta.* Proto-Keresan **ʔɨrɨ* 'be hot,' Acoma *ɨdɨ.*

Penutian: California Penutian **tu* 'burn.' Zuni *ʔati* 'be in the fire.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **nsah* ∼ **ntah* 'warm, fever.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tai* ∼ **tahi* 'fire, burn.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *ete* 'burn,' *ec(-ku-ni)* 'set on fire.'

Paezan: Paez *oc* 'burn.'

Andean: Tuwituey *tua* 'fire.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **toa,* Cubeo, Siona, Amaguaje, Tama *toa,* Pioje *towa.* Muniche *çi-* 'burn.' Iranshe *ita* 'cook, burn.' Parana Boa-Boa *tahõ.*

Equatorial: Kushichineri *titi.* Arawakan: Yukuna *cia,* Amuesha *co,* Adzaneni *dᶻidᶻe,* Abitana *icɛ,* Kumana *iča,* Itene, Wañam *iče,* Uainuma *ičeba,* Chapacura, Quitemo, Urupa *ise,* Yaru *iseː.* Proto-Tupi-Guarani **(t)ata,* Tupi, Guarani, Chiripa, Guajajara, Tembe *tata,* Guayaqui *dada,* Kanua *itaːtʔ.* Tinigua: Tinigua *ičisa.* Cayuvava *idore.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Nahukwa *ito,* Kalapalo *itoː,* Cunuana *uaʔto,* Galibi, Yauapery *uato,* Carib *uatu,* Cariniaco, Acawai, Yecuana *wato,* Waiwai *wehto,* Parucoto *witu,* Pariri *wueta.*

Macro-Panoan: Charruan: Charrua *it,* Chana *dioi* 'sun.' Mataco *ito-x.* Chimane *ci.* Choropi, Suhin, Ashuluslay *itox.* Vejoz *itag* ∼ *itox.* Moseten *ci.* Panoan: Proto-Panoan **čiʔi.* Tacanan: Proto-Tacanan **-ti-.*

Macro-Ge: Caraja *eatu, hæote, xeotti.* Fulnio *to* 'burn,' *toːwẽ* 'fire.' Guato *(ma-)ta.* Erikbaktsa *idoː.* Hahahay *itahabm.*

• [A112] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

273 FIRE$_2$ *kuti ∼ *kuči

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **kiːšeseweːwa* 'cook him,' **kiːšesamaweːwa*

'cook it for him.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *k^wase ~ *k^wasa 'cook,' *qohso 'fire.'

Chibchan: Yanoama: Pubmatari *kuadak.*

Andean: Mapudungu *kɨč̣al.*

Equatorial: Arawakan: Yavitero *kaθi,* Maypure *kati,* Chamicuro *kaxči,* Resigaro *kece,* Piapoco *kičei.* Pamigua *ekisa.*

Macro-Carib: Andoke *koice* 'tree.' Witoto *ogode* 'plant.' Yagua *iguntia* 'tree.'

Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Mabenaro *k^waθi,* Tacana, Araona, Tiatinagua, Maropa *kuati.*

Macro-Ge: Ge: Krenje *kühü,* Cayapo *kuə, kui,* Cherente *kuze,* Acroa *kučio,* Chavante *kuše,* Suya *kusto,* Chicriaba *kuče.* Guato *kiši.* Kamakan *kaš* 'firewood, wood.' Mashakali: Mashakali *kešmam,* Capoxo *kešam,* Monachobm *kičau.* Kumansho *kešam.* Monosho *kičau.*

• [A113]

274 FIRE$_3$ *ma

Penutian: Gulf: Tunica *ʔɛma* 'burn,' Yukian: Wappo *ma, maha* 'burn.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *i-ma 'fire,' *ma 'burn,' Proto-Pomo *maːli ~ *mahla- 'burn.'

Andean: Cholona *a-mo-n* 'burn.' Culli *mu.* Leco *moa.* Patagon: Ona *am-* 'burn' (intransitive). Yamana *ama* 'burn' (intransitive).

Equatorial: Arawakan: Yuracare *aima.*

• [A114]

275 FIRE$_4$ *ʔisu

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Central Algonquian *-su 'by heat,' Northern Arapaho *isei.* Salish: Squamish *tm-iʔis* 'summer' (*tm* = 'season'). Proto-Chimakuan *-so.

Penutian: Proto-Yokuts *hiš- 'cook(ed).' Proto-Mixe-Zoque *soːsʔ 'cook in water.'

Equatorial: Chapacura *ise.* Proto-Guahiban *iso, Guahibo *isoto,* Kamaru *isu,* Amuesha *soʔ ~ co.* Trumai *so.*

Macro-Ge: Southern Cayapo *ičiu.*

• [AK73, E43]

276 FIRE$_5$ *ʔaha

Almosan: Kutenai *ʔaːki-nqʔukoː.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *a-How ~ *a-Haw 'fire(wood),' Proto-Pomo *ʔohχo, Kashaya *ʔoho.* Proto-Yuman *ʔaʔoʔ ~ *ʔ-ʔa(ː)w, Kiliwa *ʔaːu.* Karok *ʔāha.* Salinan: San Antonio *ṭ-aʔauh.*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *ʔa-* 'cook.' Chimu: Eten *ox.*

Andean: Yamana *öxwa* 'ashes,' Tsoneka *ahe* 'ashes,' Itucale *auxe* 'charcoal.'
• [H61, AN8]

277 FIRE$_6$ **paye*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-baya* 'build a fire,' Acoma *baya* 'make fire,' Osage *poe* 'flames.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **p^{h}a,* Piro *faye,* Isleta *p^{h}ãi-de.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)(h)k^{w}a* 'hot.'
Paezan: Mura: Mura *foai.* Proto-Choco **paː-* 'burn.'
Equatorial: Taruma *fwa.* Arawakan: Chiriana *pai.*
• [AK72, CA36]

278 FIRE$_7$ **c'ik*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **čiːkeškweteːwi* 'near fire,' **čiːpaːhkweːwa* 'cook.' Mosan: Proto-Salish **c'iχ* 'burn, sting.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-ciːr-.*
Penutian: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **s–k* 'burn (intr.), roast,' Proto-Maiduan **c'oh-* 'burn (intr.).' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **č'ɔ* 'fire, hot.' Proto-Mayan **c̣ik'-Vl* 'burn.'
Chibchan: Tarascan *čipiṛi.*
Equatorial: Arawakan: Mehinacu *ce,* Guinau *čeke,* Achagua *čičai,* Campa, Piro *čiči,* Mawakwa *čikasi,* Guajiro *siko.* Pakaasnovos *če* ∼ *čayičiʔ.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **či(ʔi)* ∼ **čizi* 'fire, ashes,' Proto-Panoan **čiʔi.* Tacanan: Arasa *či.* Moseten, Chimane *ci.*

279 FIRE$_8$ **guka*

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **guka.*
Equatorial: Tupi: Wayoro *agukap.* Arawakan: Manao *ghügati.*
Macro-Carib: Bora: Bora *köxögua,* Muinane *köxögai.*
Macro-Ge: Ge: Krenkataje *goxe,* Mehin *kühü,* Aponegricran *koxʔho.* Kamakan: Masacara *guxa.*

280 FIRE$_9$ **pet*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **peTk-* 'catch fire,' Proto-Algonquian **poːtaweːwa* 'make a fire.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **peti.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **beːte* 'burn.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Apalai, Purucoto, Chayma, Tivericoto, Carijona *apote,* Opone *foto,* Bakairi *pato,* Uayeue *pieto,* Waiana *uapot,* Aracaju *uapto,* Acawai *wato,* Waiwai *wehto.*
Macro-Panoan: Maca *fat,* Enimaga *feit.*
Macro-Ge: Coroado *pote.*

281 FIRE$_{10}$ **sila(k)*

Almosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *silak-* 'build up a fire. Proto-North Wakashan **sl-* 'drill, drill to start a fire,' Haisla *sḷa* 'drill to start a fire,' Heiltsuk *sə́lə́m* 'bellows.'

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **siluk* ∼ **suqal* 'cook, warm, melt, singe,' Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **šuːt^{l}-* 'set fire to.'

Equatorial: Timote: Timote *širup.*

282 FIRE$_{11}$ **yak*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala, Oowekyala *yx^{w}a* 'fan the fire.'

Andean: Qawasqar *yeqstalay* 'light a fire with a stone.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auishiri *yahaoŋ.*

Equatorial: Arawakan: Baure *yaki,* Mojo, Terena *yuku.*

Macro-Ge: Kamakan *yako.*

283 FIRE ∼ BURN **apali*

Penutian: Zuni *-ʔapiɬa* 'be by the fire.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **^{m}pɛːle* 'burn, cook, heat, be hot.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *pula* 'burn.' Tarascan *apare* 'burn.' Yanoama: Yanomamï *fraː* 'burn.'

Paezan: Itonama *ubari* 'fire.'

Andean: Qawasqar *appel* 'it is hot.' Aymara *pari* 'hot.' Cahuapana: Cahuapana *pan, pəŋ* 'fire,' Jebero *pəŋ* 'fire.' Quechuan: Santiagueño *paru-ya* 'be roasted.' Patagon: Tehuelche *poːn, pohon* 'fire.' Yamana: Yahgan *apuru* 'roast,' *apun* 'fire place.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Pamöa *paʔaro* 'fire.'

Macro-Carib: Peba *föla* 'fire.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *po* 'tree.' Chiquito: Chiquito *ipi,* Churapa *peː-s* 'fire.' Proto-Ge **pĩ* 'tree, firewood.' Kaingang: Dalbergia *pɛ̃*, Tibagi *pin* 'fire, firewood,' *pon* 'burn.' Mashakali *baːi, aboːi* 'tree.' Puri: Coroado *bo, ambo* 'tree.'

• [A115] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

284 FISH$_{1}$ **k^{w}ama*

Hokan: ?Proto-Hokan **(a)š^{w}a.*

Chibchan: Talamanca *hima.* Motilon: Barira *samaña.*

Andean: Sechura *šuma,* Jebero *samer.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Pankaruru *kami(-ǰo),* Tiquie *homp,* Muniche *čeʔṣima* 'piranha.'

Equatorial: Arawakan: Proto-Maipuran **hima,* Piro *čima.* Chapacura: Chapacura *ĩšuam,* Tora *hoam,* Pakaasnovos *h^{w}am.*

• [AN38, MT42, E44]

285 FISH$_2$ **q'ac'*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **aʔšikanwa* 'bass.' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'a* 'flounder, bullhead,' *q'yz-* 'trout,' *ɢas* 'starfish,' Proto-North-Wakashan **qc'* 'sole, halibut,' Heiltsuk *qc'ḷc* 'sole,' Haisla *qc'it* 'halibut.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **ka(ː)c-*, Wichita *kaːc'a*, Pawnee *kacixi*; Proto-Keresan **sk'ašɨ* 'fish' (n.)

Penutian: Oregon: Yonkalla *kʔawan.* Plateau: Klamath *kyem.* Zuni *kʔaššita.* Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔaksa.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **kuyuː.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **k^{w}a, *(n)(ʔ)ka(n).*

Chibchan: Paya *giča.* Guaymi: Chumulu, Gualaca *kisi*, Norteño *kuso*, Penomeño *gua.* Chibcha *gua.* Rama *kiškurk.* Misumalpan: Ulua, Sumu *uas-.*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *guaca*, Cara *guasa*, Muellama *kuas.* Timucua *kuyo.*

Andean: Qawasqar *qse* 'fish scale.'

Macro-Ge: Caraja *uaši* 'fish hook.'

• [AK76]

286 FISH$_3$ **(n)amak^w*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **-ameːkw, *nameːʔsa, *nameːkwa* 'trout.' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *t^{l}mx^w-* 'perch.'

Penutian: Oregon: Kalapuya *muːkw* 'meat.' Plateau: Modoc *mehe-s.* California: Maidu *mako*, Miwok: Southern Sierra Miwok *miče:ma* 'meat.' Gulf: Chitimacha *makš.*

Chibchan: Talamanca: Tirub, Bribri *ma*, Terraba, Estrella, Cabecar, Chiripo *nima.*

Paezan: Warao *mahoko* 'catfish.'

Equatorial: Achuar *namak.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **makï, *maʔin*, Proto-Tacanan **maxe.*

• [P80]

287 FISH$_4$ **waki*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **waːhkwa* 'fish, roe, spawn,' **waːhsiwa* 'catfish,' **wekaːwa* 'perch, pike, pickerel.' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *bak^w* 'skate.'

Chibchan: Cuna *ua.* Proto-Aruak **wakə*, Atanque *g^{w}aku*, Guamaca *uaka*, Bintucua *uake.*

Paezan: Warao *ua.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **waʔi.*

Equatorial: Achuar *wakɨmtin* 'fish (v.)'

288 FISH$_5$ **ʔici*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **wʔečekwani* 'fish tail.' Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔs-* 'rock cod.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **icyõ-* ∼ **icyõʔt-*, Tuscarora *ič.*
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ʔiciːʔ.*

289 FISH$_6$ **k'al* ∼ *kal*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k̓ar,* Proto-Quichean **kar.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **k'aL* ∼ **kaL,* Karankawa *kiles.*
Chibchan: Chibcha: Pedraza *kaura.* Guaymi: Changuena *klun.* Tarascan *kuṛuča.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *kalap^{y}i* 'large fish,' *kori* 'fish.'
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **kulupu-bo* 'fish hook.'
Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *kilasma.*
Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *kare,* Orari *karo.*

290 FISH$_7$ **yapa*

Paezan: Warao *yaba.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **yapa.*

291 FLAT **t'a*

Penutian: Proto-Sahaptian **t'ai,* Plateau Penutian **t'aqt'aql'ant* 'in the flat,' Proto-Maiduan **t'at'a.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ṭ'el.*

292 FLEA$_1$ **makin*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *mohkoh* 'louse.' Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *mač'asin* 'flea'; Salish: Lillooet *məkin* 'louse.' Pentlatch *mačn* 'louse.' etc.
Macro-Panoan: Lengua *miše.* Moseten *musi.* Panoan: Capanahua *miuš,* Cashinahua *masã.*
• [A116]

293 FLEA$_2$ **p'ak'i*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **pepikwa.*
Penutian: Calirornia: Proto-Yokuts **p'aːk'il.* Gulf: Atakapa *pux.*
Chibchan: Rama *pak.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *piki.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *piki* 'flea, jigger.'

294 FLEA$_3$ **k'^{w}it'*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **k'^{w}it'*, Proto-Algic **ihkwa* 'louse,' Proto-Algonquian **ehkwa* 'louse.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **aHk^{w}i* 'louse.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **kuč̣i.*

295 FLOWER$_1$ **tuktuk*

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *tuxtu,* Cuna *tutu,* Proto-Chibcha **totu-.*
Andean: Quechuan: Inga *tugtu*; Catacao *čukču(m)*; Culli *čuču.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Puinave *suksu.*
• [CP78, AN40]

296 FLOWER$_2$ **p'aq'*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Central Algonquian **paQk.* Mosan: Proto-Salish **p'aq'-m* 'bloom, flower, Twana *s-p'əq'əb,* Squamish *spaq'am,* Upper Chehalis *paqin-* 'bloom,' Lillooet, Thompson *p'aq'm* 'bloom,' *sp'aq'm* 'flower.'
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **puːk.* California: Miwok: Lake Miwok *pakah.* Gulf: Proto-Muskogean **pak* 'bloom,' Choctaw *pakãli* 'bloom.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *puk* 'bloom'; Huave *mbah* 'bloom.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a)paq* 'bloom.'
• [AK78, P20]

297 FLY$_1$ (v.) **ta*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *tẽ,* Mohawk *-tie-.* Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan **t'ã* (C); Yuchi *tɛ.*
Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *dawi.* California: Wintun: Wintu *t^{h}ew,* Patwin *tewe*; Miwok: Central Sierra *tuːyaːng* 'jump.' Gulf: Atakapa *ti,* Yukian: Yuki *ti* 'fly, jump.'
Hokan: Achomawi *ataʔ.* Chimariko *tu, tudu* 'jump.' Pomo: Southeast Pomo *di.* Yana: North Yana, Yahi *da,* Central Yana *daː* 'jump, fly.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Maku *ide* 'wing.' Ticuna *atɨ* 'shoulder.' Tucano: Amaguaje *ete* 'shoulder.' Yuri *mæ-ati* 'shoulder.'
Macro-Ge: Bororo *(tou-)udo.* Caraja *taː* 'wing.' Proto-Ge **tɔ, *tɔr.* Mashakali *to(paha).*
• [A117]

298 FLY$_2$ (v.) **yaka*

Penutian: Gulf: Wappo *yɔkkɔ,* Muskogean: Hitchiti *yaka.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **ʔaik'* 'bird,' Iranshe *ici* 'bird,' Ticuna *goe* 'bird.'

• [P84, MT9]

299 FLY$_1$ (n.) **k'ampa*

Penutian: Oregon: Siuslaw *k'upi* 'mosquito.' California: Proto-Yokuts **k'ama:ši?.* Zuni *?ohha:pa.* Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *čap.* Mexican: Mayan: Tzeltal *čab* 'bee, honey,' Yucatec, Mam *kab* 'honey.'

Hokan: Karankawa *kamex.* Pomo: Kashaya *s'amo:,* North Pomo *c'ammu,* etc. Seri *x-komo-h, x-komo-ɬk* (pl.)

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Puinave *kepa* 'bee,' Nadobo *kob.* Tucano: Waikina *komana,* Wanana *kumana.*

Equatorial: Jivaro: Aguaruna *kããp.* Tupi: Amniapa, Mekens *kap* 'wasp,' Arikem *ngaba* 'wasp,' Guaraní *kava* 'wasp.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *kap.* Ge: Krenje *kob,* Chavante *kube,* etc.

• [A118]

300 FLY$_2$ (n.) **mulu* ~ **puru*

Chibchan: Guaymi: Chumulu, Gualaca *mulmulu,* Penomeño *mun,* Move *mora* 'bee, wasp.' Misumalpan: Cacaopera *maramara.* Talamanca: Bribri, etc. *bur* 'bee.' Yanoama: Yanomamï *mro:,* Yanomam *mroro.*

Paezan: Atacama *pairi* 'fly, mosquito.' Itonama *pururu.* Mura *abari* 'bee.' Paez: Guambiana *pulem.*

Equatorial: Arawa: Paumari *marĩ* 'pium mosquito.' Maipuran: Amuesha *mure,* Wachipairi *morox,* Amarakaeri *mõrõk,* Toyeri *morok, yamoro* 'bee.' Tupi: Guajajara, Oyampi *meru,* Cocama *miru,* Guayaki *mberu,* Arikem *maramo* 'mosquito,' Tembe *meru-i* 'mosquito' (= 'fly- small').

• [A119]

301 FOOT$_1$ **po* ~ **pa* ~ **pe*

Penutian: Tsimshian *ba* 'hip.' Plateau: Lutuami *pac,* Nez Perce *peyu* 'hoof,' Klamath *peč,* Modoc *pec.* California: Maidu *payi*; Costanoan: Santa Clara *(či-)pai,* Mutsun *paya* 'run'; Miwok: Central Sierra *puyya* 'move.' Zuni *pačči* 'sole.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *pɛ?, pɔi* 'kick,' *pek* 'track.' Muskogean: Choctaw *api.* Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *po:hi* 'leg,' *pa-* (instrumental prefix), Sierra Popoluca *puy.*

Hokan: Chimariko *h-upo.* Quinigua *boi* 'deer's foot.' Yana *bu-i* 'kick' (probably *-i* verbalizer), *bu-ri* 'dance' (= 'foot down').

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *pɔ* 'thigh,' Taos *po* 'thigh,' San Ildefonso, Hopi-Tewa *po* 'leg,' etc. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 161 **(?)k^{w}e(n)* 'leg.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Maku *ce-peči* 'shin.' Puinave: Puinave *a-ped* 'shin.' Ticuna *para* 'tibia.' Tucano: Coreguaje *api* 'foot,' Waikina *pu(-pama)* 'foot.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Itene *ipi* 'thigh.' Kariri: Kariri, Dzubucua *bui.* Katembri *popu* 'ankle.' Maipuran: Uainuma *api,* Achagua *ipa,* Chami-

curo *uxpei,* Baure *poy,* etc. Otomaco: Otomaco *bava* 'leg,' Taparita *ipua* 'thigh.' Piaroa *hepui.* Taruma *pa.* Tupi: Arikem *pi,* Guarayo *ipɨ,* Oyampi *pwi.* Yuracare *(te-)bebe.*

Macro-Carib: Andoke *pa* 'leg.' Carib: Macusi *upu* 'foot,' Pariri *upe* 'leg.' Witoto: Muinane *eɨba* 'foot.'

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba, Mocovi *pia* 'foot.' Mataco: Mataco *pa* 'foot,' Suhin *fo* 'foot,' Enimaga *fe* 'foot,' Payagua *ivo* 'foot.' Vilela *ape* 'foot,'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *bure,* Umotina *apu* 'knee,' Botocudo *po* 'foot, hand.' Caraja *waː.* Chiquito *ipope* 'foot,' *piri* 'leg.' Erikbatsa *pörö.* Fulnio *fe.* Proto-Ge **par.* Guato *apoː.* Kaingang: Palmas *fa* 'leg,' Tibagi *fa* 'leg,' Dalbergia *pe, pen* 'foot.' Mashakali: Malali *apao.* Opaie *(či-)para.* Oti *fum.* Yabuti: Yabuti *u-pa,* Arikapu *(ši-)pra.*

• [A120]

302 FOOT$_2$ **asiʔ*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **sit.*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *ʔas,* Pawnee *asu,* Arikara *axu.* Iroquoian: Seneca *siʔ-t.* Proto-Keresan **ʔašɨ* 'knee,' Santa Ana, etc. *ha-sdiʔ-ni.* Proto-Siouan **si* (C).

Penutian: Tsimshian *asiː.* Oregon: Yakonan *siyaʔ.*

Hokan: Achomawi *saʔye.* Karok *ap-siːh* (*ap* = body-part prefix). Washo *sə-* 'pertaining to the foot.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *ise* 'leg.' Mataco: Vejoz *t-ose* 'kick, tread,' Chulupi *t-oseː* 'kick, tread.'

• [A121]

303 FOREHEAD$_1$ **pe*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **pi.* Proto-Siouan **p^{h}e.*

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *uba* 'eye,' Atanque, Bintucua *uma* 'eye.' Chibcha: Chibcha *up(-kwa), uba* 'face,' Margua, Pedraza, Sinsiga *uba* 'eye.' Cuna *ibia* 'eye.' Motilon *oː* 'eye.' Paya *wa* 'eye.' Rama *uːp* 'eye.' Talamanca: Bribri *uo(-bra)* 'eye,' etc.

Equatorial: Kariri *beba, bebate* 'temple.' Otomaco: Taparita *ipa.* Piaroa: Saliba *pae.*

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba *pi.* Lule *upe.* Moseten *afi* 'eyebrow, eyelid, forehead.'

• [A122]

304 FOREHEAD$_2$ **koa*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **kowa* 'forehead.'

Paezan: Jirajara: Ayoman *ki* 'face.' Itonama *ka-* 'face' (incorporated ob-

ject).

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *kuku* 'head.' Catuquina: Bendiapa *ky* 'head,' Parawa *ke* 'head.' Muniche *oke* 'head.' Tucano: Yahuna *koa* 'forehead.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *ak-kai* 'in front' (= 'face-to'). Caraja *ikoke* 'facing toward.' Ge: Cayapo, Karaho *kuka*, Krenje *kuka* 'face,' Acroamirim *ai-kua*. Kaingang: Apucarana *kaka* 'face,' Southern Kaingang *koko* 'face,' etc. Kamakan: Kamakan *aku*, Cotoxo *ake*, Masacara *ky*. Mashakali: Malali *hake*, Macuni *ikoi*. Oti *kua*.

• [A123]

305 FOUR **maka*

Penutian: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **makta:s*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **mako*.

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **makaya*, Proto-Aruak **məhke*.

306 FOX$_1$ **ʔaw*

Penutian: California **ʔaw* ∼ **haw*, Proto-Maiduan **haw*, Proto-Yokuts **ʔaw'čʰaʔ*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ha:w*, Proto-Pomo **haq'aw*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔawci* 'dog.'

Chibchan: Guatuso *ausi* 'dog.'

Paezan: Timucua *habe*.

307 FOX$_2$ **pura*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a)pVraχ*.

Paezan: Warao *beroro* 'dog.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *apura* 'wolf.'

308 FROG$_1$ **kʷaq'at*

Almosan: Mosan: Salish: Proto-Coast Salish **wəq'íq'*; Wakashan: Kwakwala *wq-* 'frog, toad,' Oowekyala *wqa* 'frog, toad,' Haisla *kʷnq-*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **skaçɨ* 'frog, toad.' Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kwa:rə̃ʔr*.

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *weɕet'as*. Wintun: Patwin *wata·k*. Miwok: Lake Miwok *waṭ/ṭ'a:k/t* 'sounds of a frog.' Gulf: Wappo *káṭik'*, Choctaw *šokatti*. Proto-Mayan **woʔ*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(wa)ṭaK'*, Proto-Pomo **wa:ṭakʔ* ∼ **wa:ṭaqʔ*, Pomo *wataq'* ∼ *wataʔ*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **waka*, **kʷa*. Proto-Oto-Manguean **kʷe(h)(n)* 'frog, toad.'

Macro-Panoan: ?Proto-Tacanan **wawa*.

• Hokan and Penutian both show metathesis of an original triconsonantal root.

309 FROG$_2$ **busi*

Paezan: Choco: Saija *baso* 'toad.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *pãši* 'small frog.'
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **busɨ-to* 'toad,' Cuiba, Playero *busu* 'toad,' Jitnu, Guayabero *bus* 'toad.' Arawak: Achagua *iːbažu,* Tariano *paisi* 'toad.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **βïško.*

310 FROG$_3$ **t'en*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **teːnteːwa* 'frog, toad.'
Penutian: Chitimacha *t'enuː* 'bullfrog.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **tu(n)* 'frog, toad.'

311 FROG$_4$ **wara*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *wareːreh* 'toad.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *wara'ntei* 'toad.'
Macro-Ge: Caraja *a'ra.*

312 FROG$_5$ **buru*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *buru* 'toad.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **bororo* ∼ **buřuřu.*

313 FROG$_6$ **xana*

Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *ʔananay,* Atakapa *anenuy,* Muskogean: Alabama *hanono.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **χančif* ∼ **xana,* Proto-Yuman **xaña.*

314 FRUIT **teka*

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Tiquie *teɣnde,* Yehubde *teːgn.* Tucanoan: Tucano *dixka,* Uaiana *deka,* etc.
Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umotina *tokwa.* Ge: Chavante *udekæ,* Chicriaba *dekran.* Kamakan *dako.*
• [A124]

315 FULL$_1$ **pak*

Penutian: Oregon: Coos *paː* 'to fill,' Takelma *-puːʔ,* Proto-Kalapuyan **pu . . .* 'all.' California: Maidu *pe.* Gulf: Atakapa *puk.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pu* 'all,' **paK* ∼ **poK* 'fill,' Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **p^{h}ɨ* 'all.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pu.*
Paezan: Millcayac *pay.*

Andean: Auca *baː* 'all,' Cahuapana *ipa* 'enough.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **bui.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *poi-pe.*
• [P86, AN2]

316 FULL$_2$ **pan* ∼ **p'ir*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **p'ər* 'overflow.' Wakashan: Kwakwala *pn-* 'fill something up.'
Keresiouan: Siouan: Quapaw *panã* 'all.'
Penutian: California **par.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a/i)Pir* 'fill,' **(i/a)p'uL* 'fill,' **PiNiH* ∼ **PaNiH* 'fill,' Yanan: North Yana *baʔni* 'be full.' Yurumangui *pini-ta* 'empty' (*-ta* is negative.)
Paezan: Proto-Choco **ipiru.*
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *ɸɔrɔ.*
• [AK83, H69]

317 FULL$_3$ **t'am*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-t'ama* 'so many at a time.' Wakashan: Kwakwala *taq*^{w}- 'cover (v.),' **tk-* 'be full.'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *(a)tʔa.* Proto-Keresan **-t'a* 'be full.'
Penutian: Proto-Muskogean **tah* 'finish, complete.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **-aT'* 'completive,' **ṭ*^{h}*ay* 'much,' Proto-Yuman **timʔorika* 'full.' Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **t'oʔo(n)* 'shut, close.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **ta(h)(ʔ)n* 'fill, full.' Proto-Tanoan **t'e* 'close, shut, trap.'
Paezan: Timucua *atimo* 'all, both,' *toːma* 'all, every.' Barbacoan: Colorado *-to* 'completive.'
Andean: Mapudungu *taku-* 'cover (v.)' Proto-Quechuan **tuku-* 'finish.'
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **-eta* 'much.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ati* 'all.'

318 FULL$_4$ **winik*

Chibchan: Tarascan *winixti.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **wina-* 'fill.'
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **wɨNika.*

319 FUTURE **-ta*

Central Amerind: Oto-Manguean: Chiapanec *-ta* (future). Tanoan: Kiowa *-da* ∼ *-t'* (future).
Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Ubde-Nehern *-te* (future); Ticuna *ta* (future).
• [G81]

320 GATHER *yok^{w}

Penutian: Proto-Coos-Takelma *yak^{w}-(t-)* 'gather, pick,' Proto-Yokuts *yo-low,* Gulf: Muskogean: Chickasaw *ayowa.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan *yu 'gathered in a pile.'

321 GIVE$_1$ *cils

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'ls-* 'use or give sparingly.'
Penutian: Proto-Penutian *c–i–l–s 'give, divide, issue, distribute.'
Paezan: Millcayac *čeri* 'give.'

322 GIVE$_2$ *yak

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan *yax 'potlatch (n. & v.), give presents.'
Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean *-yaʔ, Proto-Mixe-Zoque *yak.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan *yow 'take,' Proto-Yuman *yo: 'take, get.'

323 GIVE$_3$ *ʔuk^{w}

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Interior Salish *ʔuk^{w} 'carry, haul, take somewhere, bring somewhere.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *-ʔu 'give long flat.'
Penutian: Zuni *ʔuk-.*
Hokan: Proto-Yuman *uk^{w}ix 'give, buy, sell, exchange goods.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *ʔuʔu 'take.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *o-ʔo.*

324 GO$_1$ *min ~ *man

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian *myew 'road,' Cheyenne *meːoʔo* 'road.' Kutenai *ma* 'trail.'
Keresiouan: Keresan: Santa Ana *mə* 'leave,' *iːma* 'go!'
Penutian: Tsimshian *amiaː(t)* 'come from,' *amoː-s* 'one who comes.' Chinook *-am* 'go to . . .' (completive suffix). Oregon: Kalapuya *maʔa* 'come.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *mi,* Chitimacha *ʔami* 'go, go away,' Atakapa *moː* 'arrive.'
Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *bæ,* Taos *mẽ,* Tewa *mã,* Jemez *mĩː* 'bring.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 197 *mi, *miya.*
Chibchan: Cuitlatec *yume* 'walk.' Rama *mang* 'go!' Talamanca: Bribri *miː* ~ *mina.*
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *mai,* Cayapa *mi* 'go away.' Choco: Chami *mai.* Itonama *mama.* Mura: Matanawi *amĩ* 'go!' Paez: Paez *meː* 'go!,' Guambiana *mai* 'road.'
Andean: Mapudungu: Mapudungu *miau-* 'go along,' *-me-* 'go to . . .,' Pehuenche *amu* 'walk.' Aymara: Jaqaru *muyu* 'wander.' Gennaken: Gen-

naken *me(-cuk)*, Pehuelche *mu*. Quechua: Cochabamba *mu* 'go to . . . .'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *ma* 'walk,' *aʔma, ãmã* 'road.' Kaliana *mu* 'road.' Tucano (general) *ma* 'road.'

Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *oːme* 'come.' Timote: Cuica *mah* 'come.' Yuracare *ama* 'come!'

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Lengua *amai* 'road,' Mascoy *mi, mɨy, amai* 'road.' Mataco: Vejoz, Chulupi *ma*. Moseten *miː* 'go, walk,' *mi, mu* 'walk,' *mami* 'road.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *me(-ru)* 'walk,' Umotina *a-menu*. Botocudo *mũ*. Chiquito *imi* 'go out,' *ameː* 'walk.' Proto-Ge **mõ, *mõr* 'go, walk.' Kaingang: Catarina *mũ* 'go out,' Dalbergia *mũ* (pl. subject). Kamakan: Kamakan *emang*, Cotoxo *man*, Meniens *niamu* 'let's go.' Mashakali *mõng*. Puri: Coroado *gamu* 'go away!,' Puri *ma* 'outside.'

• [A126] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

325 GO_2 **tem*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Maquiritare *uten*, Waiwai *wto* ∼ *wtom*, Jaricuna *etamete*, Chayma *itamue*. Yagua *s-itamana* 'he arrives.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umotina *a-tĩ* 'go!' Ge: Kraho *tẽ* ∼ *tẽm*. Kaingang: Dalbergia *teng* (sing. subject).

• [A127]

326 GO_3 **yak* ∼ **yaʔ*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **yaː* 'go.' Mosan: Salish: Upper Chehalis *ya* 'road.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **(hi-)yaː(-ni)* 'road.' Siouan: Woccon *yɔ* 'road,' Catawba *yã* 'road.'

Penutian: Chinook: Wishram *ya*. Proto-Maidu **yoʔkʰe* 'return,' Gulf: Tunica *yaka* 'return,' Muskogean: Choctaw *ia*, Hitchiti *ay, iyi* 'leg,' Alabama *iyi-api* 'leg' (*api* = 'foot'), Apalachee *ia, ya* 'leg.' Mexican: Mayan: Chol *ya* 'leg,' Tzeltal *yaʔ* 'hip.' Oregon: Alsea *yax*. Tsimshian *yeː*. Yukian: Wappo *-ya-*.

Hokan: Karankawa *ye*. Salinan: San Antonio *ia, ie*. Tonkawa *yaʔa* 'several move.' Washo *iyeʔ* ∼ *iye* (sing. subject). Yana *aya*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Azteco-Tanoan: WT 90 **ya* 'go, carry,' Tanoan: Tewa *ya* 'bring,' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 97 **ye* 'come' (sing. subject), M 98 **ya* 'come' (pl. subject), M 79 **ya* 'carry.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 413 **(n)ya(n)* 'road.'

Chibchan: Chibcha *ie* 'road.' Motilon *ya* 'walk.' Rama: Guatuso *yu* 'road.'

Paezan: Timucua *eye* 'road.'

Andean: Mapudungu *aku* 'arrive,' Cahuapana *kwa*, Zaparo *ikwa* 'go.'

• [A128, P187, AN24] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

327 GO_4 **q'oy*

Penutian: California: Wintun: Wintu *q'aya,* Patwin *k'ayi*; Maidu *koy*; Miwok: Northern Sierra *uku.* Mexican: Mayan: Kekchí *ko* 'go away,' Quiché *q'oy* 'walk.' Plateau: Klamath *g-*, Nez Perce *ikwi.* Yukian: Yuki *ko.*

Andean: Patagon: Tsoneka *oki* 'go!' Sabela: Auca *go.* Zaparo *oku.*

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba, Mocovi, Abipone, etc. *ik.* Mataco: Nocten, Choroti *ik,* Chunupi *ič,* Towothli *ik^{y}i.* Panoan: Shipibo, Conibo, etc. *ka,* Chacobo *ko.* Proto-Tacanan **kwa.*

• [A129]

328 GO_5 **ʔaka*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **aʳ-.*

Penutian: Oregon: Kalapuya *-ʔa.* California: Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *ʔūk* 'enter,' Costanoan: Mutsun *akku* 'enter.' Gulf: Tunica *ʔaka* 'come in.' Mexican: Mayan: Kakchiquel *ok* 'enter.'

Hokan: Chimariko *a.* Yana: North Yana *ha* 'woman goes.' Yuman: Walapai *a* 'move,' Cocopa *ʔax.*

• [P64, H73]

329 GO_6 **wan*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *wa* 'go.' Kutenai *w-* 'arrive.'

Keresiouan: Yuchi *wi* 'come.'

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *wī* 'go about.' California: Miwok: Plains Miwok *wən* 'walk.' Gulf: Atakapa *wang.*

Hokan: East Pomo *wa-,* Quinigua *wan,* Tequistlatec *wa.*

Equatorial: Coche *wayo* 'walk,' Dzubucua *wa,* Saliba *wa.*

• [AK50, P267, H72, E48]

330 GO_7 **poro*

Equatorial: Cayuvava *βɔrɔ* 'go out,' Yuracare *porere* 'go out.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *mporõ* 'road,' Proto-Ge **prɨ* 'road.'

• [E49, MG92]

331 GO OUT **caq*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **saːk-* 'out' in **saːk-en-amwa* 'he holds it out in his hand,' **saːk-epyeː-wi* 'it sticks out of the water,' **saːki-ken-wi* 'it grows out,' etc. Mosan: Proto-Salish **ʔucq* ∼ *ʔacq* 'out, go out,' Proto-North Wakashan **caq-* 'chase away,'

Penutian: Proto-Penutian *s-k-* 'pull out,' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ṣ-k-(l)* 'pull out, dig, perforate,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **cak* 'leave.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ca* 'away.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **saqi* 'leave.'

332 GOOD$_1$ **ici*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Cherokee *osi* 'good.'
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **uc* ∼ **uc'.*
Hokan: Chimariko *(hi-)si(-ta)*, cf. *ha-li-ta* 'bad.' Jicaque *ɨsɨs* 'good, beautiful.' Subtiaba *-u:su* 'good, pretty.' Yana: North Yana *isi:* 'right.' Yuman: Diegueño *ʔešaš* 'beautiful.'
Chibchan: Chibchan: Cuitlatec *is* 'good.' Yanomam *uši* 'ripe.'
Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *saya* 'beautiful.' Timote: Cuica *say.*
Macro-Panoan: Lengua *aci* 'be sweet.' Lule [eci] 'be good.' Mataco: Nocten, Vejoz, Chunupi, etc. *is*; Suhin, Chulupi *is* 'beautiful.' Proto-Tacanan **sai.*
• [A130]

333 GOOD$_2$ **c'ump(a)*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **C'um,* Chumash: Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara *šuma.* Pomo: Southeast Pomo *cama.* Salinan: San Miguel *c'ep.* Yana *c'up'* 'be good.' Coahuilteco *šap'aˑn.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **cam.* Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Biloxi *čema* 'good'; Yuchi *sẽ.*
Chibchan: Xinca: Chiquimulilla *cama* 'good, beautiful,' *čama* (Maldonado).
Paezan: Chimu: Eten *cup.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **suma-* ∼ **šuma-.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *ni-čemači* 'beautiful.' Puinave: Nadobo *čabe,* Curiariai *yəm.* Muniche *čuʔmaʔa.* Macu-Puinave *čam* 'ripe.'
Equatorial: Coche *čaba, čabe, saba.* Maipuran: Manao *sabi,* Tariana *maciama* 'beautiful,' Apolista *suma.* Trumai *cipom.* Tupi: Mekens *i-came* 'beautiful,' Amniapa *camencin* 'beautiful.'
Macro-Carib: Yagua *samirya.*
• [A131]

334 GOOD$_3$ **malin*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **melwi* 'good, well, fine.'
Chibchan: Rama *mali.* Talamanca: Borunca *moren.*
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *mira, mera.* Chimu: Eten *man* 'agreeing with,' *moraiñ* 'certainly.' Itonama *ux-mala* 'good, beautiful.' Mura: Matanawi *amori, amuri.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *moræra.* Puinave: Puinave *morõ* 'right (hand).'

Iranshe *malẽta.* Proto-Nambikwara **məuli.*

Macro-Carib: Bora: Bora *imine,* Muinane *imino.* Carib: Jaricuna *mori,* Galibi *mori* 'clean.' Witoto: Witoto *mari, mano-dʔe* 'healed,' Erare *mare.* Yagua: Yameo *maringre* 'healthy, good,' Masamae Yameo *marĩ-neːa.* Pemon *mori.*

• [A132]

335 GOOD$_4$ **k'anik* ~ **k'ulik*

Almosan: Salish: Tillamook *k'unək* 'beautiful.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Mohawk *akarite* 'be healthy.' Siouan: Catawba *kəri.*

Penutian: California: Central Sierra Miwok *kəlli* 'healthy,' North Wintu *čal* 'beautiful.' Mayan: Jacaltec *č'ul* 'beautiful.'

Hokan: Proto-Coahuiltecan **kenex* 'good, big,' Cotoname *kenax.* Yuman: Akwa'ala *xan.*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **kuːle,* Ocaina *xaroːga* 'beautiful.'

• [AK88, P15, H75, MC2]

336 GOOD$_5$ **poy*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **p'ayaq* 'ready, ripe, cooked.'

Chibchan: Motilon: Dobocubi *bay.* Talamanca: Chiripo *bui.*

Macro-Ge: Krenje *pey* 'beautiful, good,' Mashakali *epai* 'beautiful,' Malali *epoi* 'beautiful.'

• [CP86, MG7]

337 GOOD$_6$ **ʔayu*

Almosan: Wakashan: Oowekyala *h'y-* 'good, nice, fine,' Kwakwala *ʔy-* 'good, nice, fine.'

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔoyV* 'good, well.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔay.*

Equatorial: Jivaroan: Jivaro *ayu,* Achuar *ayuayu,* Aguaruna *ayu.* Maipuran: Toyeri *ayo-ayo.* Pakaasnovos *ʔawi.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **ãyũ.* Macu-Puinave *hey.* Muniche *iʔyan.*

Macro-Ge: Caraja *ãuyre.*

• [E50]

338 GOOD$_7$ **tač'a*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *dič'aː* ~ **dic',* Nez Perce *taʔc.*

Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *deča* 'new.'

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *tasi.*

339 GOOD$_8$ **k'apa*

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **k'ap'* 'ripe.' Zuni *kʔa* 'ripe.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **k'awa.*

340 GOOD$_9$ **meca*

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *meča.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **mušuq* 'new.'
Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **mɛc.*

341 GOOD$_{10}$ **keme*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **kimti* 'new.'
Andean: Mapudungu *kɨme.*
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **k^{h}eime.*

342 GOOD$_{11}$ **q'^{w}aʔ*

Almosan: Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *q'^{w}aʔíčx^w* 'fine, nice.' Wakashan: Nootka *ʕ'ay'ičʕ* 'autumn (i.e. good weather).'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **qUd̯V* ∼ **č^{w}Ud̯V,* Proto-Pomo **q'oʔdi.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)(ʔ)k^{w}a(h)(n)* 'new.'

343 GOOSE **laq'laq'*

Almosan: ?Proto-Algic **kelaːhkewa.*
Penutian: California **laːq,* Proto-Yokuts **laʔlaʔ,* Proto-Maiduan **lak'.* Gulf: Yukian: Proto-North Yuki **lak,* Wappo *lokh* 'wild goose'; Natchez *laːlak,* Tunica *lálahki,* Muskogean: Chickasaw *šalaklak.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(l)alaq,* Proto-Pomo **hlaːla* ∼ **lala.*

344 GOURD **puru*

Chibchan: Tarascan *buru* [check this form], Proto-Aruak **duk-buru.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **puru.*

345 GRANDFATHER$_1$ **pica*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *picowas,* Algonquian: Ojibwa *ne-miššomis* 'my grandfather.'
Macro-Carib: Nahugua *apici,* Andoke *ǰapitah.*
• [AK90, MC25]

346 GRANDFATHER$_2$ **ikan*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *ikani.* Siouan: Biloxi *ikoni.*
Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *kan* 'paternal uncle.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *ikan* 'uncle.'

• [AK91, P263]

347 GRASS$_1$ **pu*

Penutian: Proto-California Penutian **pu.* Zuni *pe.* Gulf: Chitimacha *po.*
Chibchan: Cuitlatec *beyoʔo.*
Paezan: Chimu *pe,* Paez: Guambiana *pu.*
• [P93, CP88]

348 GRASS$_2$ **qaca*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **qχaci(r),* Proto-Pomo **qac'ːa.*
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kačau.*

349 GREASE (n.) **ʔisa*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **ʔiṣat'i* 'grease, lard.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **ɨʔSe.*

350 GREEN **kuli* ∼ **kuri*

Almosan: Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *kin'ic* 'blue'; Proto-Salish **k^{w}ur, *k^{w}ar,* Kalispel *k^{w}in.*
Andean: Mapudungu *kary.* Aymara *k'ora* 'grass.' Catacao: Catacao *taguakol* 'grass,' Colan *aguakol* 'grass.' Patagon: Tehuelche *kor* 'grass.' Sechura *unñiokol* 'grass.'
Equatorial: Arawa: Paumari *kuriki.* Kariri: Dzubucua *kraku* 'blue.' Maipuran: Wapishana *kuli* 'green, blue,' Bare *ɣuling* 'blue.' Tupi: Cocama *ikira,* Guarayo *iakrɨ.* Zamuco: Ebidoso *xãr, xãrhu* 'green, yellow,' Chamacoco *kuaržo* 'yellow.'
• [A133]

351 GUTS$_1$ **epoku*

Macro-Carib: Bora: Miranya *(maɣ)-bohu,* [ga-bohguh]. Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **wakulu* 'stomach, intestines,' Aparai *waku.* Witoto *hebego.* Yagua: Yameo *buo.*
Macro-Panoan: Lule *epoko.* Moseten *voxko, vokko* 'belly.' Proto-Panoan **poko.*
Macro-Ge: Bororo *peguru, appagao* 'inside.' Ge: Ramkokamekran *payalko.*
• [A134]

352 GUTS$_2$ **kul*

Hokan: Cotoname *kuwela.* Jicaque *kol* 'guts, stomach.' Tequistlatec *guʔu* 'abdomen.'
Andean: Cholona *kulu.* Cahuapana: Jebero *ikin-ək* 'middle' (*-ək* is loca-

tive). Patagon: Tsoneka *kin* 'belly,' Patagon *kim* 'belly.' Yamana: Yamana, Yahgan *ikimia* 'be inside.'
• [A135]

353 HAIR$_1$ **cum*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *u:s, ošu.* Keresan: Santa Ana *ha:-ẓa-n.* Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan **k^{y}ũ* 'feather,' Dakota *šũ* 'feather,' Woccon *summe*; Yuchi *cɛ̃.*
Hokan: Jicaque *ci* 'hair, root.' Pomo: Kashaya *sime,* North Pomo *cime,* etc. Subtiaba: Tlappanec *cũng* 'hair, root.' Yuman: Cocopa *išma,* Mohave *sama* 'root,' Kiliwa *esmok,* etc.
• [A136]

354 HAIR$_2$ **toni*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **coni* 'body hair,' Proto-Oto-Manguean **(Y)su(n).*
Equatorial: Tora *tuni,* Piapoco *čona.*
• [CA44, E55]

355 HAIR/FEATHER$_3$ **ali*

Penutian: Tsimshian *li* 'feather.' Zuni *la* 'feather.' Gulf: Atakapa *li* 'feather.'
Andean: Ona *a:l,* Yamana *ali* 'feather.'
Macro-Ge: Erikbatsa *ka-ari,* Fulnio *li,* Krenje *ara* 'down.'
• [P75, AN52, MG57]

356 HAMMOCK **buh*

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **bu-k^{w}a,* Proto-Aruak **buh* ∼ *buʔ.*
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **bu:.*

357 HAND$_1$ **ʔani*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-Vn,* Proto-Algonquian **-en-* 'by hand,' Micmac, Potowotami *-in* 'by hand.' Kutenai *(ahq-)ʔa:n* 'handle.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-hnẽ:h-* 'arm,' Tuscarora *-ʔehn.*
Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *ʔoyn* 'give.' Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **ni* 'give.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔana* 'wing.'
Paezan: Mura: Bohura *hane-ui.*
Andean: Mapudungu *ni-* 'take.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Huari: Huari, Masaka *ine* 'finger.' Ticuna *-na:* 'finger.' Yuri *-uno:* (Wallace), *-eno:* 'hand' (Spix).
Equatorial: Tupi: Tapirape *ǰane-po.*
Macro-Carib: Yagua *hana:* 'finger,' Pemon *yenna* 'hand, finger.'

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Pilaga *na* 'give,' Mocovi *an* 'give,' Toba *ane* 'give.' Lule *ni* 'give.' Proto-Pano-Tacanan **ʔina-n-* 'give, take, grasp,' Proto-Panoan **ʔinã* 'give,' Proto-Tacanan **yani* 'left hand,' **na-* 'wing.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *ni, nika* 'arm.' ?Macuni *ini-manko.* Ge: Apinage *ni-kral,* Suya *ñi-(ko),* Cherente *ni(-krai),* Proto-Ge **ñĩ-kra.* Kaingang: Came, Palmas *ningge,* Kaingang *nĩm* 'give,' Tibagi *ninge, nin, ne.* Kamakan: Cotoxo *nin(-kre).* Opaie *ni(-nye).* Yabuti: Yabuti *ni(-ku),* Mashubi *ni(-ka),* Arikapu *nu(-hu).* Monosho *añeːm.* Kumansho *añibktɛn.* Jeico *ɛ-nɛnoŋ.*

• [A138] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

358 HAND$_2$ **atu*

Almosan: Proto-North-Wakashan **da-* 'take, hold, carry in hand,' Kwakwala, Haisla *da-* 'take, hold, carry in hand.' Proto-Chimakuan **-t'ay.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-di* 'give.'

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **tiː* 'give.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **tu* 'with the hand,' Chimariko *tu-* 'with the hand.' Proto-Pomo **da-* 'with the hand,' **du* 'with the fingers,' East Pomo *du-* 'with the hand.' Washo *d-adu, du-* 'with the hand.'

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **ita,* Chibcha *ita,* Tegria, Pedraza *ata.* Motilon *atuː.* Aruak: Kagaba *tei* 'carry.' Yanoama: Yanomamï *te* 'take.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa *taʔ* 'take.' Proto-Choco **tea-* 'give,' Catio *ata* 'take,' Chami *do* 'take.' Timucua *etea* 'take, catch, grasp.'

Andean: Mapudungu: Pehuenche *tu* 'take.' Yamana: Yahgan *ata* 'take.' Zaparo *ata* 'take.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *da-* 'give.' Macu-Puinave *teiʔ.*

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **da* 'give.' Esmeralda *di.*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Carib **utu* 'give' (Goeje 1735). Yagua: Yameo *ti* 'give.' Bora *to-* 'action with hand.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ti-* ∼ **tia* 'give.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *to* 'bring,' Umotina *ta* 'take.' Ge: Krenje *to* 'bring.'

• [A139]

359 HAND$_3$ **(w-)ʔiš* ∼ **(w-)ʔasi*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-Vʔs,* Wiyot *w-éʔs,* Proto-Algonquian **-w-aːši-ka* (numeral suffix on 6, 7, and 8), etymologically 'this-hand-left' (Ruhlen 2004).

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Arikara *išuʔ,* Wichita *ʔiˑs.*

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **sɨ-* 'action with finger,' **si-* 'action with hand,' Proto-Costanoan **ʔiṣˑu,* Mutsun *isu.* Zuni *ʔasi* 'hand,' *w-eši-kkʔa* 'left hand.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **wɛši* 'hand, arm,'

Atakapa *wiš* ∼ *woš* 'hand, finger, Chitimacha *waši*, Natchez *ʔiˑš-*, Tunica *-tír-waš* 'nail, claw,' Proto-Yuki **həhs* 'arm,' Yuki *hyss* 'arm,' Proto-Muskogean **isi-t* 'take and ...,' Creek *inki-wisaːka.* Mexican: Huave *owiš* 'arm,' Proto-Mayan **iš-k'ak* 'fingernail.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ʔešaːlV* ∼ **i-šal*^{y} 'arm,' **is-* 'with the hand,' **is* ∼ **iš* 'take,' Kashaya *ʔiša* 'arm,' Yurumangui *a-is-ka.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **waci* 'finger.'

Chibchan: Paya *wiš-ka* 'arm,' Cuitlatec *ihčɨ* 'upper arm.'

Paezan: Timucua *iso* 'give quickly.'

Andean: Yamana *yoš,* Tehuelche *haš* 'arm,' Zaparo *ʔawaši* 'fingernail, nail.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **isi* 'give.' Capishana *iso.*

Equatorial: Yaruro *iči* 'arm.' Piaroa: Saliba *ičo* 'give.' Cofan *yasa* 'arms.' Pawate *ažiba* 'arm.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *(ka-)ci-dome* 'finger' (*dome* = 'hand'). Bora: Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *ma-ugci,* Miranya [dau-tseh] 'my hand,' Imihita *(tha-)usi* 'my hand.' Carare *yaso* 'arm.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *is.* Mataco: Churupi *-ič* 'hand' (from *i-cami-ič* 'my left hand,' *i-faːˑ-ič* 'my right hand'). Tacanan: Chama *sisi* 'finger,' Huarayo *eme-sisi* 'finger' (*eme* = 'hand'). Vilela *isi-p.* Charrua *is-bay* 'arm.'

Macro-Ge: Umutina *išo* 'forearm.'

• [A111, P7, AN53] **w-* is a stage III article; see THIS$_3$ *wi.* The Zuni form *w-eši-kkʔa* 'left hand' is identical to the mysterious Algonquian numeral suffix *w-aːšye-ka* that is found on the numerals six, seven, and eight and which now can be seen to have originally meant 'one on the left hand (6), two on the left hand (7), and three on the left hand (8)' (Ruhlen 2004).

360 HAND$_4$ **kuc* ∼ **kic*

Almosan: Algic: Blackfoot *-kic-* 'finger.' Proto-Mosan **-ks,* Wakashan: Kwakwala *ks-* 'push away with hand.' Salish: Squamish *čis.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **iks-* 'hand,' **skic-ik* 'finger.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **ʔekːu(s).* Gulf: Natchez *kus* 'give.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *koč* 'gift.'

Chibchan: Guaymi: Norteño *kuse,* Penomeño *kise,* Move *kise.* Talamanca: Borunca *i-kus(-kua)* 'finger.'

Paezan: Paez *kosɛ.* Timucua *k*^{w}*ači* 'give, teach.' Okoshkokyewa *kosa.* Moguex *koze.* Nasayuwä *kusɛ.*

Andean: ?Puelche *agačkaš.*

• [AK93, P89, CP92] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

361 HAND$_5$ **tana* ∼ **teni*

Hokan: Chimariko *-teni.* Proto-Pomo **ʔat*^{h}*a(ː)na,* South Pomo *t*^{h}*aːna.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)ta(H)(n)* 'hand, finger, arm, seize.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Urupa *tiñi* 'wing.' Proto-Maipuran **dana(-p^{h}a)* 'arm,' Bare *dana* 'arm.'

• [H77, E126]

362 HAND$_6$ **pito*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **nexpetoni* 'my arm,' **-pet(aː)* 'handle roughly.'

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *pīd* 'wing.'

Penutian: California: Yokuts *p^{h}uṭ^{h}oŋ* 'hand, arm.' Chinook *pote* 'arm.' Gulf: Proto-Muskogean **put* 'touch,' Alabama *pota* 'take,' Yukian: Wappo *pito* 'touch,' *pita* 'take,' Yuki *mip'at.*

Hokan: Comecrudo *pat* 'arm.'

Paezan: ?Timucua *ipita* 'take off, undress.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Yahuna, Tanimuca *pitaka.*

Equatorial: Tupi: Wayoro *o-pitab.*

• [AK203, P99, P243, P260] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

363 HAND$_7$ **saka*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *sax-* 'lay one's hands on.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **šaki.* Caddoan: Caddo *sik.*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **s–k–a* 'hold, grasp, get, take.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **šik'* 'wing.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **SaHya* 'arm, leg, shoulder.' Karankawa *šig-mia* 'arm.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **seka* 'arm.'

Chibchan: Chibcha *üta-saka.* Talamanca: Tiribi *sak-wo* 'finger.' Paya *sahua.*

Paezan: Andaqui *sakaː.* Atacama *soke.*

Andean: Manekenkn *šakut.*

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **seka* 'give.'

Macro-Ge: Ge: Southern Cayapo *šikria.*

• [AK94, CP93]

364 HAND$_8$ **q'ap* ∼ **qap*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **kepwenamwa* 'cover it with the hand.' Proto-Mosan **kaː,* Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'p* 'hold by squeezing under the arm,' *χap-* 'grasp in the hands,' *kp-* 'carry in one's arms, embrace.'

Penutian: Proto-Yokuts **xap^{h}al* 'finger,' Proto-Maiduan **k'a(ː)-* 'action with the hand.' Proto-Mayan **k'ab'* 'hand, arm,' Proto-Quichean **q'ab'.*

Chibchan: Manare *ukaba* 'middle finger,' Sabanero *kobaragda* 'finger,' Aruaco *abata-kabo* '5' (literally, 'one-hand'), and Sanema *polakabi* '2' (presumably to be analyzed as *pola-kabi* '2 fingers').

Paezan: Motilon *koba* ‘5’ (presumably, ‘hand’ = ‘5 fingers’). Timucua *kepe* ‘claws, fingernails.’

Andean: Aymara *kupi* ‘right hand,’ Yahgan *kupaspa* ‘5,’ Qawasqar *kuːpačpe* ‘5.’ Puelche *eškap* ‘arm.’ Mapudungu *kuwɨ.*

Equatorial: Uro: Puquina *kupi.* Proto-Guahiban **-kobe,* Playero *pe-kóbe* ‘hand’ (cf. also *pe-kóbe-ší-bo* ‘finger’), Guahibo *pe-kóbe:* ‘hand,’ Cuiva *pe-kóbe* ‘hand,’ Jitnu *pe-ko* ‘hand.’ Proto-Maipuran **kʰapɨ,* Curripaco *-kapi,* Waura *-kapɨ-,* Arawak *-kapo,* Lokono *-kʰabo,* Resigaro *-kapʰí,* Cabiyari *-kaːpi,* Piapoco *-káːpi,* Tariano *-kapi-,* Parecis *kahí,* Cauishana *-gubi,* Uainuma *-gapi,* Marawa *-kabesui,* Yavitero *-kabuhi,* Mehinacu *-kapu.* Tupi: Aweti *iköva* ‘arm’; Chapacura *kapi* ‘ring finger,’ Otomaco *gibi.* Pakaasnovos *kep* ‘hold.’ Cayuvava *kaparu* ‘hand,’ *kapakirue* ‘fingernail.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Querari *yimõ-kopel* ‘hand.’

Macro-Carib: Maiongom *kepa’ala* ‘arm.’

Macro-Panoan: Sanapana *ihwapesi* ‘finger,’ Komlek *kovaiyi* ‘5.’

• [E56] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1997).

365 HAND$_9$ **ʔaqa*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **ahcam* ‘give to.’ Kutenai *ka-ʔaːk-eː* ‘my hand.’ Proto-Mosan **kaː,* Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔχ* ‘put, take, handle (v.), get.’ Proto-Salish **-ak* ∼ **-ák-aʔ* ‘hand, lower arm,’ **áχan* ‘arm (side).’

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **k’a(ː)-* ‘action with hand.’ Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **ʔekː(s).* Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k’ɔ* ‘take, seize,’ Proto-Yuki **haʔ* ‘carry in hands or arms.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan **-ahq’-* ‘give.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **aqa* ∼ **iqa* ‘give,’ Proto-Yuman **ʔahanka* ‘right hand,’ **ʔeːka* ‘give.’ Coahuilteco *-aˑx* ‘give.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)ka(n)* ‘take, get, fetch, carry.’ Proto-Tanoan **kʰo* ‘arm.’

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **ak-ko* ‘give,’ **ko* ‘finger.’ Proto-Chibcha **ko-* ‘fingernail.’ Guaymi: Muoi, Murire *ko.*

Paezan: Timucua *oha* ‘give.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **o-ʔo* ‘give.’

Equatorial: Arawak: Campa *a-ko.*

Macro-Carib: Bora *axkʰu* ‘give.’

Macro-Ge: Patasho *aham.* Fulnio *ko* ‘give.’

366 HAND$_{10}$ **tap*

Paezan: Timucua *tabi* ‘take with.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Uanana *daparo.*

Equatorial: Arawak: Paraujano *tap.* Pakaasnovos *tapan* ‘arm,’ *tapači* ‘wing.’

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *dapue* 'arm.'
Macro-Ge: Caraja *dabo* 'finger, hand.'

367 HAND$_{11}$ **hento*

Chibchan: Yanomam *hẽto* 'handle.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Siona *ente,* Amaguaje, Icaguate *hente,* Pioje *höntö.*

368 HAND$_{12}$ **m'apa*

Almosan: Wakashan: Haisla *m'a* 'touch with the hands.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-m'aːpa* 'palm of hand.'
Hokan: Proto-Coahuilteco **mapi,* Comecrudo *mapi* 'hand, fingers, arm.'
Paezan: Itonama *mapara.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **mapa-* 'take, embrace.'

369 HAND$_{13}$ **pel*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-peɨ* 'handle roughly.' Proto-North-Wakashan **bat^{l}* 'measure by using the extended arms or fingers.'
Penutian: Proto-Yuki **pal* 'wing, leaf.'
Andean: Mapudungu *pɨla-pɨla* 'handpalm.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **pɨ-rɨ/tɨ,* Dyuremawa, Hehenawa, Bahukiwa *pili.*

370 HAND ~ GIVE ~ MEASURE **ma-n* ~ **ma-k* ~ **ma-r*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **miːleːwa* 'give,' Proto-Central Algonquian **miː, *miːl* 'give,' Blackfoot *-mi* 'hand,' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *maχwa* 'give potlatch.'
Keresiouan: Keresan: Santa Ana *ha-m'asdiʔi-ni* 'hand.'
Penutian: Chinook *m-* 'to hand.' Proto-California **ma* 'hand,' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **m–C* 'hand, take,' Proto-Maiduan **mah* 'hand,' **meː-y* 'give,' **meh* 'take,' Maidu *ma* 'hand'; Miwok: Central Sierra *ammə* 'give,' *-ma* 'hand' (deduced from 'left hand' and 'right hand'). Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *meʔ, mɛ* 'hand' (also, instrumental prefix), Muskogean: Choctaw *ima* 'give'; Tunica *muhi* 'carry in the hand,' Chitimacha *ʔaːma-* 'give (pl.),' Atakapa *make* 'exchange.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **moːyʔ* 'give,' Mixe *ma* 'give'; Totonac *makan* 'hand.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ma(n)* 'hand,' **ma* ~ **mo* 'give,' Achomawi *-mu-* 'carry.' Chimariko *mai* 'carry.' Coahuilteco *maux, mi* 'have.' Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **ma* 'hand,' Jicaque *mas* 'hand,' Tequistlatec *mane* 'hand, arm,' *mage* 'five' (Angulo & Freeman), *amakeʔ* 'five' (Turner). Proto-Coahuiltecan **make* 'give,' Coahuilteco *-maˈwx* 'hand,' Karankawa *makuel* 'five.' Pomo: East Pomo *ma* 'hold' (sing. object). Salinan: San

Miguel *meːn* 'hand,' *maʔa* 'bring, carry.' Tonkawa *mam* 'bring.' Yana *moh-* 'take along, fetch' (*mah-* passive). Yuman: Yuma *iːmi, ami* 'bring,' Akwa'ala *man* 'arm.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **ma* 'hand,' **meka* 'give,' Proto-Tanoan **man* ∼ *mõ* 'hand,' **mẽ* 'give,' Kiowa *mã* 'hand,' *mẽ-ga* 'give,' Taos *mãn* 'hand,' Isleta *man* 'hand,' San Ildefonso *mãng* 'hand,' Jemez *ma(-te)* 'hand,' Hopi Tewa *mɛ* 'hand,' *mɛgeh* 'give.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ma* ∼ **moʔ* 'hand,' **maka* ∼ **mika* 'give.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **wa* 'right hand,' Proto-Chinantec **nwan.*

Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca *eme* 'take!' Misumalpan: Miskito *miχta* 'hand.' Rama *mukuik.* Xinca: Sinacatan *mux* 'finger.' Yanoama: Yanam *ɨmɨ* 'seize, catch,' Yanomam *imik* 'hand,' *imi* 'finger,' Sanema *ami* 'finger.'

Paezan: Warao *moa* 'give,' Atacama *mut(-sma)* 'five' (*sema* = 'one,' for SEM 'one' see ONE_4 below). Barbacoa: Cayapa *manda* 'hand,' Colorado *manta* 'hand.' Chimu: Chimu *mæča* 'hand,' Eten *mecan* 'hand.' Itonama *ma-* (instrumental prefix). Jirajara: Ayoman *man* 'hand,' Gayon *a-mant.* Millcayac *minina* 'take.'

Andean: Qawasqar *merr* 'arm.' Cahuapana *imira* 'hand.' Mayna *mani* 'arm.' Patagon: Ona *mar* 'arm, hand.' Proto-Quechuan **maki* 'hand.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *umẽ* 'arm.' Catuquina [paghi-mu] 'palm' (*paghi* = 'hand'). Iranshe *mimã* 'hand.' Maku *(tabu-)ime* 'branch' (*tabu* = 'tree'). Puinave: Macu-Puinave *mɨ̃h* 'arm,' Parana Boaboa *mo* 'arm,' Ubde-Nehern *mummui* 'arm.' Ticuna *mi* 'hand.' Tucanoan: Dyurumawa, etc. *amue* 'arm,' Sara, Buhagana, Macuna, Tsölä, Palanoa, Tsöla *amo* 'hand,' Durina *mohu* 'hand,' Yupua *muhu* 'hand,' Coretu *muhu* 'hand,' Waikina *umuka* 'hand.'

Equatorial: Jivaro: Aguaruna *am* 'give,' *umu* 'take.' Kariri: Kariri *amisa* 'hand,' Dzubucua *mu* 'take.' Maipuran: Ignaciano *-ama* 'take away,' Baure *e-mo* 'take.' Kushichineri *no-min* 'hand.' Otomaco: Taparita *mea* 'hand.' Timote: Mocochi *ma* 'bring,' Maguri *me* 'take!' Proto-Tupi-Guarani **meʔeŋ* 'hand.' Uro: Caranga *maka* 'receive.' Zamuco: Ebidoso *mɛ* 'hand,' Chamacoco *umme* 'hand.' Pakaasnovos *miʔ* 'give,' *miči*ʔ 'hand, fingers,' Saliba *umo* 'hand.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *moka* 'take out.'

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Abipone, Pilaga *imak* 'left hand.' Lengua: Lengua *amik* 'hand,' *maŋkyi* 'take,' Kaskiha *hemik* 'hand.' Mataco: Payagua *i-mahiar* 'hand,' Macca *imaxi* 'left hand.' Proto-Pano-Tacanan **mɨ-* 'hand, branch,' Proto-Panoan **mɨkɨnɨ* 'hand,' Amahuaca, Cashinahua *maka* 'hand,' Caripuna *moken* 'hand.' Proto-Tacanan **e-me* 'hand,' Tacana, Isiama, Araona, Sapiboca *e-me* 'hand,' **mece* 'arm,' Arasa *imiaca* 'hand.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *mako* 'give.' Botocudo *am, um* 'give.' Ge: Crengez *mango* 'give,' Sakamekran *amu* 'give,' Karaho *i-ma* 'give me!' Kaingang: Tibagi

ma 'give,' *ba* 'bring.' Kamakan *min, mane, ma* 'give.' Guato *mara* 'hand.'

• [A137] Greenberg (2002: 3) showed that all three variants of this root are found in both Eurasiatic and Amerind.

371 HARD *k^wele

Penutian: Chinook *qəlqəl.* Oregon: Yakonan *xulxus* 'strong,' ?Takelma *k'al'-s* 'sinew.' Plateau: Lutuami *kuli-s* 'strong,' Yakima *klɔ-ei.* Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *kali* 'be strong,' Natchez *ʔek^{w}ele* 'bone.'

Hokan: Jicaque *k^hele* 'bone.' Tequistlatec *-egaɬ* 'bone.'

Central Amerind: Azteco-Tanoan: WT 22 **k^wenga,* Tanoan: Taos *k^wẽ.* Proto-Oto-Manguean R 103 **(n)(h)ki(n)* 'hard, metal, stone.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 1 **k^wɨ.*

Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca *kakala* 'bone,' Bintucua *akana* 'joint.' Chibcha: Chibcha [quyne] 'bone,' Tegria *korara* 'bone,' Manare *kus-kare* 'finger joints.' Cuna *kala* 'bone.' Guaymi: Move *kro* 'bone,' Gualaca *kone* 'bone.' Motilon: Dobocubi *akara* 'bone.' Paya *kwakwana* 'hard.' Rama: Guatuso *kora* 'bone.'

Equatorial: Arawa: Culino *k^hara* 'be hard.' Kariri: Kariri *kra* 'dry,' Dzubucua *kro-d^ze* 'strong.' Maipuran: Anauya *korokoroni* 'bone,' Amuesha *ičaš.* Tupi: Mekens *i-kere* 'savage,' Purubora *kirĩ, kirĩng* 'dry.' Zamuco: Tumraha *karo* 'dry, empty, waterless.'

Macro-Carib: Witoto *keriːre-ide* 'strong.' Yagua *čöra, söra.*

• [A140]

372 HATE **pul*

Andean: Mapudungu: Pehuenche *piʎ-an* 'no quiero.' Cholona *a-puʎu-an.*

Equatorial: Guahibo *bole* 'bad omen.' Kariri: Dzubucua *bule* 'bad.' Tupi: Purubora *bere* 'bad.' Yuracare *bene-ti* 'bad.'

• [A142]

373 HAWK **sokal*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **šqal* 'crow, jay.' Zuni *šokʔapiso* 'marsh hawk.' Gulf: Natchez *sokoʔl* 'eagle,' *šoːkoL* 'bird,' Proto-North Yuki **sahol'* 'eagle.' Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **šihk.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **sVk^{w}al^y, *čɨak'^{w}aːla* ~ **čöːk'^{w}aːla,* Proto-Yuman **sik^{w}ala* 'hawk,' **šak^{w}ilaːw* 'mocking bird.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **ṣuk^{w}ɨ* 'toucan,' Proto-Panoan **ṣokï* 'bird.'

• Cf. Russian *sokol* 'hawk, eagle, falcon.'

374 HAWK (SPARROW) **liq'liq'*

Penutian: Plateau: Sahaptin *liːχɬi* 'small hawk,' Klamath *c'liklak*; Cali-

fornia: Maiduan: Konkow *lak'* 'goose,' Maidu *lülük'ü* 'goose,' Nisenan *laˑlak'* 'goose.' Zuni *cilili-kʔo.* Gulf: Proto-North Yuki **lak* 'goose,' Wappo *lokh* 'wild goose'; Natchez *laːlak* 'goose,' Tunica *lalahki* 'goose,' Muskogean: Chickasaw *šalaklak* 'goose.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **liklik* 'American kestrel.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **liq'liq'* ∼ *niq'niq'*, **r̥iːkʰVr̥iːkʰV.*

375 HE/SHE$_1$ **ʔi* ∼ **iʔ*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **hi-* 'that, there.' Proto-Chimakuan **-ʔi* 'he, she.'

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **hi-* 'he, she, it,' **ʔe-* 'him, her, it.' Gulf: Proto-Muskogean **i-* 'he.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **he(ʔ)* 'he, she.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **hE* (article), **i* 'this.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **ʔiʔa* 'this.' Uto-Aztecan: Mono *ʔi-hi* 'this.' Tanoan: Santa Clara *ʔiʔ* 'he/she,' *ʔi-* (verb prefix), Tewa *ʔiʔ* 'he/she,' *ʔi-* (verb prefix). Oto-Manguean: Chinantec *ʔi.*

Chibchan: Cuna *i-* (indefinite object; e.g., *i-makka* 'make something,' *kaː* 'to shine' (in general), *i-kaː* 'to light up a place'). Proto-Aruak **hi* 'this,' Guamaca *i-* 'his/her,' Guaymi *ya,* Move *ya,* Murire *ya,* Muoi *ya,* Bribri *i-* 'his/her' and indefinite object, Chibcha *i-* (indefinite article), Borunca *i* ∼ *iæ* 'he/she,' *y-* 'his/her,' Rama *i* ∼ *yaː* 'he/she,' *ya* 'his/her,' *i-* (indefinite object), Guatuso *i* 'he/she, his/her,' Guajiquero *i(-na)* 'he/she,' Chilanga *i-* (indefinite object), *i(-no)* 'he/she,' *iː-* 'his/her, him/her,' Cuitlatec *i-* (definite article), Tarascan *i-* 'this, that, he.'

Paezan: Paez *i-* 'him/her,' Warrau *i-* 'him/her,' Itonama *i-* (unspecified object), Atakama *ia* 'he/she,' *i-saya* 'his/her,' Cayapa *ya* 'he/she,' *ya(-la).*

Equatorial: Guaraní *i-* 'his/her, he/she,' Arikem *i(-an)* 'he/she,' *i-* 'he/she, him/her,' Wirafed *i-* 'his/her,' Oyampi *i-* 'his/her,' Cayuvava *i-* 'his/her,' Kandoshi *i-* 'another' (cf. *čoma* 'bathe' (intrans.), *i-čoma* 'bathe another'), Jivaro *i-* 'someone' (cf. *meitiatsan* 'bathe' (intrans.), *i-meitatsian* 'bathe someone'), Moxo *i-* (transitivizer), Baure *i-* (transitivizer). Pakaasnovos *ʔi kaʔ* 'this (near speaker).' It seems not unlikely that the masculine singular prefix in the Arawakan family—as well as similar examples in Macro-Tucanoan—has its origin in the third-person pronoun under discussion. For details of this specialized development, see the etymology MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL *i/u/a.*

Macro-Carib: Pemon *i-* 'his/her.' Bora *eː-* 'that (inanimate),' *eʔ-* 'that yonder (inanimate),' *i-* 'this (inanimate), his.' Yagua *hiy* 'this.' Proto-Witotoan **i-* 'it.'

Macro-Panoan: Choroti *i-* 'his, her,' Moseten *i-* (transitivizer). Proto-Waikuruan **i-* 'he (active),' **e* 'to him.'

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *i-* 'his/her,' Fulnio *e-* 'his/her,' Bororo *i-* 'his/her,'

Kraho *iʔ* 'his/her,' Krenje *iʔ* 'his/her,' Caraja *i-* 'his/her.'
• [G12]

376 HE/SHE$_2$ **ti* ∼ **ta*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-T* 'he,' **ta* ∼ **ti* 'that (known but not previously mentioned),' Proto-Algonquian **-t-* (fossilized prefix that occurs between possessive or verbal subject prefixes and stems that begin with a vowel), Wiyot *-d-* (fossilized prefix that occurs between possessive or verbal subject prefixes and stems that begin with a vowel). Proto-Mosan **ta(ː)-* ∼ **tay* 'this, that, the.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **ti(ː)(ʔ)* 'this, he.'

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **t* 'that there.' California: Proto-Yokuts **tʰaː* 'that.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **r-* ∼ **t-* 'his, her,' Ixil *t-* 'his/her' (before stems beginning with a vowel), Kekchí *r-* 'his/her' (before vowel stems), Quiché *r-* 'his/her' (before vowel stems), Mam *t-* 'his/her.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ṭ-* (article), Salinan *-t* (nominal prefix), Washo *d-* (nominal prefix), San Luis Obispo *t-* (nominal prefix). Coahuilteco *ta-* 'that.' Subtiaba *d-* (nominal prefix), Tlappanec *r-* (nominal prefix). Yurumangui *-ita* ∼ *-uta* ∼ *tai* 'this.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *-ti* 'he, she, they.' Yanomam *tɨ* ∼ *te* 'he, she, it.'

Paezan: Warao *ta(i)* 'that,' *tai* 'he, she,' *tama* 'this.'

Andean: Ona *ta* 'he/she, they,' *-t-* (third-person sg. obj., e.g., *i-t-yosko* 'I-it-hear'), *d-* 'his/her,' Tehuelche *t-* 'his/her, their, and third-person sg. object,' Mapuche *teye* 'that, he/she,' Jaqaru *-ta-ma* (verb suffix indicating third person acting on second person).

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucano *toː* 'there,' *toho* 'that,' Yupua *ti* 'this,' Nadobo *tög* 'that,' Canamari *tu* 'there,' Kaliana *atu* 'there.'

Macro-Carib: Pemon *-t-* (petrified third-person prefix before stems beginning with a vowel), Witoto *da,* Muinane *daː,* Andoke *dya,* Yameo *are* 'this,' *ara* 'that,' *ranum* 'that yonder, he/she' ($r < *d$).

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **tu-* 'that,' Proto-Tacanan **tu-* 'he, that, they.' Moseten *-t* (masc. suffix; cf. *-s* [fem. suffix]), Mascoy *ya-t* (masc. prefix; cf. *ya-m-* [non-masc. prefix]), Lule *tita* 'he/she,' *teoto* 'they,' *te* 'this,' Vilela *te-* 'his/her,' *t-* (relative pronoun), Charrua *-t* 'his/her,' Guana *-t* 'his/her,' Chana *-t* 'his/her,' Mataco *ta(h)* 'that' (relative pronoun), *t-* 'his/her.' Proto-Waikuruan **dː-* 'he (active).'

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **ta(m)* 'he.' Kaingang *taŋ* 'this,' *ti* 'he.' Chiquito *-tiː* (masc. sg.), Aweikoma *ti* 'he' (cf. *si* 'she'), Caraja *ti* 'he' (cf. *tiki* 'she'), Cherente *ta,* Coroado *ti,* Fulnio *t-* (verbal subject/object).

• [G13] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

377 HEAD$_1$ **puta*

Equatorial: Coche *buce* 'cabecilla.' Arawakan: Guamo *puti* ∼ *pute.* Maipuran: Piapoco *nu-puta* 'my forehead,' Adzaneni *nu-ihitu* 'head.' Otomaco *putta.* Tupi: Awiti *apot.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Umaua *butuhe,* Waiana *e-putiü,* Upurui *e-putpiʔi,* Trio *i-putupo,* Tivericoto *o-putpa,* Chayma *putpo,* Urucuyena *putpo,* Galibi, Apalai *u-pupu,* Acawai *yu-popo.*

Macro-Ge: Mashakali: Macuni *epotoi,* Patasho *patoi* 'head, hair,' Capoxo, Kumanasho *patanõn.* Puri: Coropo *pitao.*

• [A143]

378 HEAD$_2$ **t'aq*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-itoxk* 'above,' Cheyenne *ta:xe* 'above.' Mosan: Proto-Chemakuan **-t'iq^w,* Chemakum *tek^y',* Quileute *(oʔ)t'eq^w.* Salish: Lillooet *təqa* 'above.' Shuswap *-tk* 'on top of,' Upper Chehalis *teč* 'upon,' etc.

Penutian: Chinook: Kathlamet *q'aqstaq.* Oregon: Takelma *tak-.* Plateau: Klamath *t'oq',* Sahaptin *łəmtaχ.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tuku* 'sky.'

Chibchan: Rama *taik* 'top.'

Paezan: Jirajara: Ayoman *a-togh,* Jirajara *a-ktegi.* Allentiac: Millcayac *taktu* 'high, above, sky.' Choco: Saija *tači-puro.*

Andean: Gennaken: Puelche *atak* 'mountain.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucano: Waikina, Uanana *dax-pua,* Bara *dex-fea,* Tuyuca *dex-piu,* Tucano *dex-poa,* Desana *dex-puru,* Omöa *dix-hoga,* Buhagana *tix-hoga.*

Macro-Panoan: Charruan: Chana *tuk* 'mountain.' Guaicuru: Toba-Guazu *-ligi* 'above,' Abipone *alge, elge* 'on top' (Guaicuru *l* < **t*). Lengua *ecik-sik* 'crown of the head,' *takhe* 'above.' Lule *toko.* Mataco: Choroti *atak,* Chulupi *utex* 'hill,' Macca *utex* 'hill,' Nocten *etek,* Vejoz *toxpa* 'high.' Moseten [tacche] *takke.* Tacanan: Sapiboca, Maropa *e-čuxa,* Araona, Tacana *e-čua,* Isiama *e-čo.*

Macro-Ge: Caraja *itexeke* 'above.' Fulnio *dakka* ∼ *tka.* Guato *dokeu.* Puri: Coroado *takuen* 'above.'

• [A144] Cf. ABOVE$_1$.

379 HEAD$_3$ **sako*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *səq'a* 'over.'

Keresiouan: ?Proto-Caddoan **ackat* 'up.' Iroquoian: Cherokee *u-sko-li.* Siouan: Tutelo *sako* 'above.'

Penutian: Zuni *ʔošok^{w}k^{w}i.*

Chibchan: Bintucua *saku-ku* 'skull,' Cuna *sakla,* Jutiapa *usaxle.*
Paezan: Betoi *ro-saka.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **šuku-* 'cover the head.'
Equatorial: Arawakan: Caliponau *išöke.*
• [AK96, CP96]

380 HEART **cuk'u*

Hokan: East Pomo *cukun,* North Yana *dᶻuguc'i,* San Antonio *šk'oʔil* 'lungs.'
Chibchan: Cabecar *sokko* 'kidney,' Paya *sakka* 'spleen.'
• [H82, CP107]

381 HERON **wara*

Chibchan: Yanomam: Yanomam *ara* 'red macaw.'
Paezan: Warao *wara.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *wɨw̥iru* 'bird.'
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **wɨra* 'bird.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Taranoan **wara.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **waraka* 'bird species.'

382 HEAVEN **ema*

Hokan: Quinigua *imi* 'hill.' Salinan: San Antonio *léma* 'sky,' San Miguel *ɬem* 'sky.' Seri *ʔamime.* Subtiaba: Subtiaba *d-ema-lu,* Tlappanec *d-e:hma.* Tequistlatec *le-maʔa.* Yuman: Yuma *ʔame* 'high,' Tipai *may,* Mohave *ammaya,* etc.
Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave *ma* 'above.' Tucano: Amaguaje, Siona *emue* 'above,' Tsoloa *emea* 'above,' Coto *mwi* 'go up,' etc.
• [A148]

383 HILL **ton*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-aten* 'steep hill.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ton.*
Paezan: Allentiac: Millcayac *tonton* 'mountain' (with reduplication to indicate size). Barbacoa: Totoro *tuna.*

384 HIT$_1$ (v.) **tiq'ʷ*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *tik, tokʷan* 'slap'; Yurok *tikʷohs.* Kutenai *cik'* 'destroy.' Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *ta:q,* Quileute *cex*; Wakashan: Nootka *c'oqʷ*; Salish: Squamish *cəxʷ* 'be hit,' Snohomish *caq',* Lillooet *cikən* 'beat, whip,' Tillamook *tq.*
Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *ti:kʷi, takʷi,* Arikara *takit* 'be broken.'
Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Mascoy *tik.* Moseten *-tak* in *pak-tak* 'to nail,' etc.

(Bibolotti, lxvi, 'hitting action'). Lule *tak-* 'wooden instrument or effect produced by it.' Panoan: Cashinahua *ta-*, *tas-* (instrumental prefix for hitting action).

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *čik.* Kaingang: Tibagi *taik.*

• [A149] Cf. HIT$_2$.

385 HIT$_2$ (v.) **tok*

Almosan: Salish: Coeur d'Alene *tiʔ* 'pound.' Kutenai *t'ā-* 'knock.'

Keresiouan: Caddo *daʔ* 'pound corn.' Kutenai *t'ā-* 'knock.'

Penutian: Coos *tōh,* Wappo *tɔh,* Natchez *ta.*

Andean: Qawasqar *toks* 'fight,' Aymara *tok'e* 'quarrel.'

• [AK153, P110, AN37] • [A149] Cf. HIT$_1$.

386 HIT$_3$ (v.) **pak*

Penutian: California: Maidu *bok-* 'beat.' Gulf: Atakapa *pak* 'beat,'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pa.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)(h)k^{w}a(h).*

• [P14, CA47]

387 HIT$_4$ **maq'a*

Almosan: Kutenai *moχune* 'hit, fall into,' *maq'ne* 'slap,' Proto-North Wakashan **mx-* 'strike with the fist, punch,' Kwakwala *məx^{y}a*; ?Proto-Algonquian *mi:kawitamwa* 'fight' (v.)

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-mɨǰid^{z}a* 'kill.'

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **maq'* ∼ **mak'* ∼ **mah.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i/a)ma* 'kill.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **mak.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **maqa-.*

• [AK100]

388 HOLE$_1$ **c'imak*

Almosan: Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala, Bella Bella *sms* 'mouth'; Chemakuan: Chemakum *simu:sit* 'nose.'

Keresiouan: Siouan: Catawba *somõ.*

Penutian (ear): Tsimshian: Nass *c'əm-mux* 'ear.' Chinook: Chinook *čam* 'hear,' Wishram *čmaq* 'hear.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *c'ema* 'ear,' Huchnom *cum* 'ear,' Coast Yuki *cem* 'ear.' Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *čen* 'listen.'

Penutian (mouth): California: Proto-Yokuts **samaʔ* 'mouth,' Maidu *simi* 'mouth.' Oregon: Coos *c'ma* 'chin,' Lower Umpqua *camicəm* 'chin.' Plateau: Klamath *som* 'mouth,' Molala *similk* 'mouth.'

Penutian (nose): California: Maidu: South *suma* 'nose,' Yokuts *šen* 'smell.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *šima* 'nose.'Natchez *šamac* 'nose,' Tunica *šimu*

'blow nose.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *cam* 'nose,' Mam *čam* 'nose,' Kakchiquel *can* 'nose.'

Hokan: Achomawi: Atsugewi *asmak* 'ear.' Chimariko *hi-sam* 'ear,' *šem* 'listen.' Comecrudo *somi* 'cave.' Karok *ʔa:siv* 'cave.' Proto-Pomo **šima* (Oswalt) 'ear.' Tequistlatec *la-š'mas* 'ear.' Yuman: Proto-Yuman **smaʎ(k)* 'ear.' Cf. Washo *d-amal* 'hear'; Yana: Central, North *malʔgu* 'ear.'

Andean: Aymara: Jaqaru *šimi* 'mouth.' Patagon: Ona *šem* 'mouth,' Tehuelche *šam* 'mouth.' Quechua: Cochabamba *šimi* 'mouth,' other dialects *simi.*

• [A150] Evidently a root meaning 'hole' was applied especially to the apertures of the head.

389 HOLE$_2$ **mu*

Hokan: Esselen *imu(-sa).* Pomo: Northeast Pomo, Southeast Pomo *mo,* South Pomo *hi:mo.* Yana *muk'ula* 'round hole, pit.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *-muye* (deduced from 'nostril' = 'nose- hole'). Puinave: Puinave *moi,* Curiariai *mãi* (deduced from 'nostril').

• [A151]

390 HOLE$_3$ **tolo*

Penutian: Lake Miwok *talok^h,* Atakapa *tol* 'anus,' Takelma *telkan* 'buttocks.'

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *doro,* Coroado *dore* 'cave.'

• [P115, MG65]

391 HORN **k^{w}an*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ixkin.* Kutenai *(akuh-)qɬe* (*ɬ* < **n*).

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **he* 'horn, hoof.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *xaxan-s.* California: Proto-Yokuts **k^{h}oyeš.* Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *hin* 'antler,' Huchnom *hine.* Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **-uk'a:ʔ.* Proto-Mixe-Zoque **waha(w).*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i-k^{hw}a-yV,* Proto-Pomo **haʔ:a.* Proto-Yuman **k^{w}aʔ.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔawa.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **(H)k^{w}e(n).*

Chibchan: Tarascan *šɨk^{w}ank^{w}a.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **waqra.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **saʔa.*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **(m)oka(x)ïʔto.*

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **ko.*

• [A152]

392 HORTATIVE **pa* ∼ **pe* ∼ **pi*

Keresiouan: Keresan: [languages??] *p-* (hortative.) ?Iroquoian: Wyandot

kwa- (first-person plural inclusive; *p* > *kw* in Iroquoian, according to Chafe).

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *baʔ* (exhortative). California: Maidu *pe* (exhortative); Wintun: Patwin *bu* (first-person plural exhortative); Miwok: [languages??] *pa-* (indirective, i.e., to get someone else to do something.) Gulf: Muskogean: Hitchiti *pu-* ∼ *po-* (first-person plural subject), *pu-* (first-person plural object), Creek *po(-mi)* 'we' (cf. *či(-mi)* 'thou').

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Miskito *-pi* (first-person plural imperative); Lenca: Chilanga *-bi* (first-person plural verb subject).

Andean: Mapudungu *-pe* (third-person hortative); Aymara *-pa-n* (third-person hortative; the *-n* is an Andean third-person marker), Jaqaru *-pʰa* (third-person hortative); Zaparoan: Andoa *pa-* (first-person dual inclusive possessive), Iquito *-pa* (first-person inclusive hortative).

Macro-Panoan: Panoan: Chacobo *-pa* (polite imperative); Tacanan: Tacana *pa-* (optative); Lule *-pe* (plural imperative); Vilela *pa-* 'let us . . . ,' *-p* (third-person hortative).

Macro-Ge: Ge: Kraho *pa-* (first-person dual inclusive possessive and verb subject); Bororo *pa-* (first-person plural inclusive).

• [G86]

393 HOT **k'ec* ∼ *k'ac*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **kečhaːy-* 'be day,' Yurok *kecoyn-hego* 'sun,' Proto-Algonquian **-kiːšek* 'day,' **kiːšeʔɬwa* 'sun,' Proto-Central Algonquian **kešy* 'hot,' Shawnee *kiš* 'hot,' Cree *kis-* 'hot,' Fox *kišesw* 'sun,' Passemaquody *kīsus* 'sun'; Proto-Salish **k'ʷas* 'hot, scorch,' Nootsack *k'ʷas* 'hot,' Pentlatch *kwas* 'hot,' Columbian *skwats* 'hot.'

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *kišɔ* 'sun.' Keresan: Acoma *káṣâitɪ* 'summer, year.'

Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *haši* 'sun,' Choctaw *haši* 'sun.' Mexican: Mayan: Huastec *k'ītcā* 'sun,' Tzeltal *k'išin* 'heat.'

Hokan: Arra-arra *kišen* 'summer,' Santa Ynez Chumash *kǐs-si* 'sun,' Seri *kkošiŋ* 'be hot,' Utah *kʷučíi* 'hot.'

Central Amerind: Oto-Manguean: Mixtec *kači* 'warm, damp,' Popoloca *kusuwa* 'heat.'

Chibchan: Lenca *kaši* 'sun,' Miskito *kisni-sa* 'heat.'

Andean: Yahgan *kisi* 'summer.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Koaia *kasa* 'sun.'

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Choroti *a-kus* 'hot,' Suhin *kus* 'hot.'

Macro-Ge: Opaye *hečõ-ata* 'summer' (*ata* = 'hot').

• [Ruhlen 1994g] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

394 HOUSE$_1$ **toh*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **teːwa* 'be,' Ojibwa *ta* 'dwell, live.' Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *-ti, teː-*; Salish: Squamish *taʔ* 'be.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **ti* 'dwell, house.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *to*, Taos *tʰə-*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 83 **(ʔ)tu(h)*.

Chibchan: Chibcha [uze] 'nest.' Lenca: Similaton *tou*, Guajiquero *thau*, etc.

Paezan: Allentiac *utu, uti*. Barbacoa: Colorado *toh* 'village.' Choco: Nonama, Saija, Tucura *te*, Catio *te* 'house, nest,' Andagueda *tay*, etc. Mura: Mura-Piraha *atay*.

Andean: Qawasqar *ata, at*. Aymara: Aymara, Jaqaru *uta*. Zaparo *ita*.

Equatorial: Arawa: Culino *uza*. Chapacura: Urupa *asa*, Itene *asi*. Piaroa: Saliba *ito*. Tupi: Guayaki *eitɨ* 'nest,' Yuruna *atia* 'nest,' etc. Zamuco *idai*.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Maiongom *ato*, Chayma *ata*, Bakairí *ɔta*, Barama River *owto*, etc. (all = 'house').

Macro-Panoan: Moseten *tiː* 'nest.' Panoan: Shipibo *ati*. Tacanan: Huarayo, Tiatinagua *eti*, etc.

• [A153]

395 HOUSE$_2$ **ka*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)ka(H)(n)*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ki*.

Macro-Carib: Muinane *ixa*, Taulipang *kə* 'stay.'

• [CA48, MC29]

396 HUSBAND **ino*

Penutian: Plateau: Cayuse *inaiu*. Gulf: Yukian: Huchnom *i-na*. Mexican: Totonac: Tepehua *noh*.

Macro-Carib: Proto-Carib **ino*, Witoto *inuy*.

• [P122, MC31]

397 I$_1$ **na(ʔ)*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **n-* ∼ **-Vn* ∼ **net-* ∼ **neʔ* 'I,' **-naːn* 'we,' **-Vn*, Proto-Algonquian **ne-*. Kutenai *-naːp-* 'me,' *-ən* (imperative object), *-nawaːs-* 'us.' Proto-Mosan **na(y)* ∼ **la(y)*, Salish: Tillamook *n-* 'my,' Kalispel *-ən* 'my.' Wakashan: Nootka *niw'a* 'we, us,' *-ni* (verbal suffix), Bella Bella *-ən*. Chemakuan: Quileute *l* (< **n*).

Keresiouan: Keresan: Santa Ana *hinu* 'I, we,' *-n* (suffix in verbal hortative

forms). Proto-Caddoan *na(ː)t- 'I, we.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *na-* 'my.' Chinook *n-*. Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **n-*, Takelma *-n*, Coos *n(əx)*, Miluk *ənneu*, Siuslaw *na*, Alsea *n-*. Plateau: Klamath *noː* ∼ *ni* 'I,' *naːt* 'we,' Nez Perce *ʔíˑn* 'I,' *neʔ-* 'my' (with kinship terms), *na* 'we,' Molala *ʔina*, Proto-Sahaptian **ʔiːn* 'I,' **naʔ* ∼ **neʔ* 'my,' **nuːn* 'we,' Sahaptin *na-* 'my.' Proto-California **naʔ*, Wintu *ni*, Patwin *na-*, Colouse *nat*, Yokuts *naʔ*, Proto-Maiduan **nik* 'me,' Maidu *ni*, Nisenan *ni*. Gulf: Natchez *n-* ∼ *-n* 'I,' *ni-* 'me,' Tunica *-ni*, Yuki *ʔin-* 'my (inalienable).' Huave *-na-* (in the future tense). Proto-Mayan **ʔin* (subject of transitive verbs), **-n* (subject of intransitive verbs). Proto-Mixe-Zoque **n-heʔ* 'mine.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **n^{y}a* ∼ **n^{y}i*, Chimariko *nō-ut*, Karok *na*, South Yana *(ǰi-)n* 'our,' Santa Ynez *noi*, Santa Barbara *noː*, Santa Cruz *noː*, Esselen *niš-* 'my,' Jicaque *na(p)*, Comecrudo *na* ∼ *yen*, Cotoname *na* 'I, we,' Coahuilteco *na-* 'I, my,' *naxo-* ∼ *naye* 'we, our,' *niw* 'I,' Karankawa *nayi* ∼ *n'*. Arra-arra *na*, Pehtsik *naːh*, Washo *le* (< **na*). Proto-Yuman **ñ-* 'I,' **nã-p* 'we,' Yuma *nnyep*, Mohave *inyeč*, Walapai *ãn*, Havasupai *inya*, Yavapai *nya-a*, Diegueño *ʔenyaː*, Chontal *ni*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **neʔ(a)*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan **n-*, Luiseño *no*, Cahuilla *ne-* 'my,' Kawaiisu *nɨʔɨ*, Utah *ne*, Opate *ʔina-po*, Yaqui *ʔinapo*, Tarahumara *ni-hé*, Papago *-ñ*, Hopi *nuʔ*, Nahuatl *no-*, Pipil *-neč-*. Proto-Tanoan **nõ*, Kiowa *nã* 'I, we,' *nɔː-* 'my,' Taos *añ-* 'my,' Jemez *ne*. Oto-Manguean: Proto-Zapotec **nãʔ* 'I,' **nã* 'we inclusive,' Proto-Chatino **nãʔ* 'I,' **nã* 'we inclusive,' Mixtec *n* 'I, we exclusive,' Popoloca *n* 'I, we exclusive,' Chinantec *n-* 'I, we.'

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **na*, Kagaba *nas* 'I,' *naui* 'our,' Bintucua *nan*, Chimila *na-* 'my,' Guamaca *nerra* 'I,' *nabi* 'we,' Cuna *an*, Move *nu* 'we,' Norteño *nu* 'we,' Penomeño *nu* 'we,' Rama *na(s)* ∼ *ni-* 'I,' *nusut* 'we,' Xinca *ni*, Cogui *nə́s*, Ica *nən*, Bribri *ñõ*, Miskito *yan (? < *ñan)*, Ulua *yan*, Sumu *yan*, Lenca *una*. Proto-Chibcha **na-sV/(-nV)-ya*.

Paezan: Paez *an*, *ne-* 'my,' Guambiana *na*, Warrau *ine*. Timucua *-na* ∼ *-ni* 'I, my, our,' *-ni-ka* 'we.' Barbacoan: Guambiano, Totoro, Awa *na*.

Andean: Mapudungu *iñče* 'I,' *iñčiñ* 'we plural,' *iñčiu* 'we dual,' *yiñ* 'our pl.,' *(ta-)ñi* 'my,' Aymara *naya*, Jaqaru *na*, Proto-Quechuan **nu-qa* ∼ **ñu-qa* 'I' (cf. **qa-m* 'thou,' **-ni* 'my,' **-ninčik* 'our exclusive.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **yɨ̃ʔɨ̃-sã* 'we exclusive' Yehubde *en* 'we,' Papury *ün* 'we,' Movima *inɬa* 'I,' *ninɬa* 'my.'

Equatorial: Timote *an*, Cuica *an*, Mocochi *an*, Zamuco *ñu*, Guahibo *xánɨ*, Otomaco *nu* ∼ *no*, Proto-Arawakan **nu*, Itene *ana-*, Puquina *no-* 'my,' Murato *nua*, Yaruro *naya* 'my,' Manao *no-* 'my,' Yavitero *nu-* 'my,' Baniva *no-* 'my,' Ipurina *ni-* 'my,' Jitnu *kan*, Cuiba *xan*, Guayabero *xan*, Achuar *iːnu* 'our.'

Macro-Carib: Taulipang *ina* 'we,' Cariniaco *naːna* 'we,' Galibi *ana* 'we,' Macusi *ana* 'we,' Yagua *naːy-* 'we two exclusive,' *nuːy-* 'we pl. exclusive.'

Macro-Panoan: Mataco *no-* 'my,' *na-* 'our (ex.),' Vejoz *no-k^{y}a* 'my,' *no-* 'our (ex.),' Pilaga *ina* 'I,' *ien* 'we,' Proto-Panoan **no* 'we,' Guenoa *an(-ti)* 'our,' Vilela *nati* 'we,' Moseten *ñu,* Nocten *no-,* Pacaguara *no-,* Chacobo *no-,* Arazaire *noena.*

Macro-Ge: Krenje *in-* 'my,' Dalbergia *ñu,* Tibagi *in,* Botocudo *n-,* Opaie *ni-*, Kamakan *n-* 'my,' Catarina *enha,* Caraja *inã bo ibutũ* 'we two,' Kaingang *ʔiñ.*

• [Trombetti 1905, G1, Ruhlen 1994i, Ruhlen 1995a] The Amerind pronoun pattern *na* 'I'/*mi* 'you' was explicitly recognized by Alfredo Trombetti a century ago when he noticed its ubiquity in North and South America and its absence elsewhere in the world (Trombetti 1905). My own survey of the world's pronoun systems (Ruhlen 1994i) confirmed Trombetti's observation. I have suggested that this specifically Amerind pronoun pattern may derive from an inclusive-exclusive opposition found in the Old World: *na* 'we exclusive'/*mi* 'we inclusive' (Ruhlen 1995c). Greenberg noted that the third instance of a general first-person pronoun (see I_6 *ma* below) was essentially inclusive: "The *m* form is inclusive, and this may have been its original function." Such a change from first-person plural inclusive to second-person singular is well supported by diachronic typology. If this is correct, then the Amerind system is related to the we-inclusive/we-exclusive pattern found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic.

398 I_2 **ʔi*

Almosan: Proto-Chimakuan **-ʔis* ∼ **-s* 'my,' **-li* 'I,' **-lo* 'we.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **hinu* 'I, we.' Iroquoian: Tuscarora *iːʔ* 'I,we.'

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **-xi* 'I, me.' Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **ʔiːn.* Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ʔəs* 'I, me, we, us,' Atakapa *(h)i-* 'me,' Tunica *ʔi-* 'me, my,' Proto-Yuki **ʔə* ∼ **ʔəp(a)* 'I (agent),' **ʔih* 'I, me (patient),' Yuki *iː* 'me,' Wappo *iː* 'me,' Proto-Muskogean **-li* 'I,' **ili-* 'we, we two exclusive.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔɨːci* ∼ **ʔɨc.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i* 'I,' **l^{y}e* 'I, we,' Achomawi *i* 'my,' Chumash *-i* 'me, my,' *i-* (first-person singular acts on second or third singular), Comecrudo *-i-,* Southeast Pomo *ʔi-* 'my,' Seri *ʔe* 'I,' *ʔi* 'my,' Tequistlatec *-i-* 'my,' Tonkawa *ʔ* (in past declarative), Washo *(m-)i-* (first person acts on second person), Yana *(ǰ-)i-* 'my,' *-i* 'I,' Yuman: [languages?] *ʔ(i)* 'my.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **i-ne-* 'my,' *i-ta(-me)* 'our,' Hopi *ʔi* 'my,' Chinantec *-y* 'me' (in bipersonal forms).

Chibchan: Chibcha *i-* 'I, my,' Cuitlatec *-i* 'my,' Cacaopera *-i,* Miskito *-i* 'my, our.' Yanomam *ipa* 'my.' Tarascan *xi.*

Paezan: Colorado *i*. Warao *ine*.

Andean: Mapuche *l-i* 'I,' *y(-u)* 'we(-two),' *i(-ñ)* 'we' (*-ñ* is a plural affix), Ona *ya*, Tehuelche *ya, (y)i-kuwa* 'we,' *yi-* 'my,' *i-* 'I,' Jaqaru *i(-ma)* (first person acts on second person), Yamana *hi-* 'my,' *hipay* 'we two,' *hipikaː* 'us two,' *hipikina* 'our two,' Yahgan *i-tapan* 'myself,' *i-matagu-aki* 'that which was given to me,' *i(-pai)* 'we-two,' Quechua *-y* 'my,' *-y(-ku)* 'we (ex.)' (subjunctive).

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **yɨʔɨ*. Capixana *ya-*, Catuquina *i-*, Tiquie *ya-*, Desana *-yi* 'me,' Wanana *yiː* 'me,' Bara *yɨ* 'my,' Movima *inɬa* 'I,' *iʔɬi* 'we inclusive,' *ide* 'we inclusive.'

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **iye*. Esmeralda *ye* 'I,' *e-* 'my,' Kandoshi *i-* 'my,' *iy(a)* 'we,' Oyampi *ye* 'I,' *e-* 'my,' Yuracare *i-*, Ayoré *i-* 'my,' Achuar *iːti* 'we, our,' *iːnu* 'our.'

Macro-Carib: Carib *i-* 'I, my, me' (general in Carib).

Macro-Panoan: Guenoa [y-ti] ∼ *i-*, Charrua *i-* 'my,' Mascoy *e-* 'my,' Proto-Waikuruan **idː-* 'I,' *i* 'to me,' *i-* 'my,' Guaicuru *i-* 'my, me,' Vejoz *i-* 'my,' *iy(-am)* 'my,' Payagua *ya-* 'my,' *y(-am)* 'I,' Enimaga *yi-* 'my,' Moseten *ye*, Proto-Panoan **ʔɨ*; Tacanan: [languages?] *e-*.

Macro-Ge: Bororo *i(-nno)* 'I,' *i-* 'my,' *-i* ∼ *i-* 'me,' Umotina *iya* 'I,' *i-* 'I, (verb prefix), my,' Chiquito *i-* 'I, my,' Fulnio *i-* 'I, my,' Krenje *i-* 'I, my,' Kraho *i-* 'I, my, me,' Aweikoma *i(g)* 'I,' Palmas *i(g)* 'I, my, me,' Coroado *i(-n)*, Kaingang *ʔiñ*.

• [G2]

399 I_3 **pi* ∼ **pa*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Yuki **ʔəp(a)* 'I (agent),' Proto-Muskogean **ha-pi-* 'we (patient),' **ha-ili* 'we (actor),' **pi-* 'we,' **pi-ho* 'we inclusive.'

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ña-p* 'we.'

Chibchan: Yanomam *ipa* 'my,' *-p* 'our, your, their,' *pə* 'I . . . thee,' *pəhəkɨ* 'we dual inclusive.'

Paezan: Timucua **-ba* ∼ *-*bo* 'we, you (pl.)'

Macro-Tucanoan: Maku-Puinave *bitʔu* 'we.'

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **pa-ta* 'our.'

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **pa*.

400 I_4 **ka* ∼ **ki*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-Vk*. Kutenai *ka-* ∼ *-ka-*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **k(i)-* 'I (agent).' Proto-Caddoan **-ku-* 'me.'

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **ki*, Takelma *kiː*. Proto-California **kan*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **kaːn*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan **ak-* 'we two, we (pl.)'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **KV* 'we inclusive,' Yurumangui *aka* 'I, me,' *k-* 'my.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)ka(h)* 'I, we inclusive, we exclusive.'
Chibchan: Tarascan *-ka* ∼ *-kia* 'I, thou, we, you.'
Paezan: Warao *ka* 'our, us,' *oko* 'we,' Millcayac *ku* 'I, me,' *kuču* 'we.'
Andean: Puelche *kua.*
Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **(k)õõ-xe(ʔe).*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ekana* 'we.' Lengua *koʔo.* Proto-Waikuruan **(o)qːumː* 'we.'

401 I_5 **ta*

Almosan: ?Proto-Algic **net-* 'my.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **tat-* 'I, we.'
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **-deʔ* ∼ **theʔ* 'I (intrans.)'
Paezan: Proto-Choco **tači* 'we inclusive.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **tʔail* 'I,' **tʔa* 'my.'
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **taha* ∼ **ta-x* 'my.'
Macro-Carib: Bora *ta-* 'my.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **d^y-* 'I (active),' **idː-* 'I (inactive).'

402 I_6 **ma*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **maː-* 'we.'
Paezan: Warao *ma-* 'my, me.' Proto-Choco **mɨ.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **mãĩ-rĩ* 'we inclusive.'
Macro-Carib: Bora *meː* 'we two inclusive, we pl. inclusive,' *me-* 'our inclusive,' *muːʔa* we pl. exclusive,' *muʔc^hi* 'we two exclusive masc.,' *muʔp^hɨ* 'we two exclusive fem.'

403 IMPERATIVE **ʔi*

Keresiouan: Wichita *hi-*, Keres *ʔi.*
Hokan: Yana *-ʔi,* Karok *-i,* Salinan *-i-*, Yurumangui *-i.*
• [G88, G91]

404 . . . -IN-LAW **-kwa*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *ne-kwa* 'my mother/father-in-law,' Proto-Algonquian **-kwa* '. . .-in-law,' **ne-taːn-kwa* 'my sister-in-law.' Mosan: Salish: Columbian *ti-k^wa* 'father's sister,' Flathead *titi-k^we* 'woman's brother's daughter.'
Keresiouan: Siouan: Iowa *tá-gwa* 'son-in-law.'
Penutian: Gulf: Yuki *-c'í-hwa* 'husband's brother,' *-c'í-hwa-pi* 'husband's sister, wife's sister.'
Hokan: Shasta *a-ču-gwi* 'younger female cousin,' Jicaque *tsi-kway* 'boy, child.'
Central Amerind: Uto-Aztecan: Northern Paiute *taŋ-ʔwa* 'man'; Oto-Manguean:

Mazatec *ču-kwhã* 'aunt,' Trique *du-ʔwe* 'aunt,' Proto-Mixtecan **kuʔn-gwi* 'woman's sister,' Mixtec *du-ʔwi* 'aunt.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *tu-gwa* 'grandchild,' Motilon *a-te-gwa* 'nephew.'

Paezan: Paez *anš-tsun-kue* 'grandchild.'

Andean: Qawasqar *se-kwai* 'grandchild,' Cahuapana *kaik-kwa* 'sister-in-law.'

Equatorial: Yaruro *hia-to-kwi* 'maternal grandson.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucano *ti-kã* 'son-in-law.'

Macro-Carib: Surinam Carib *tī-ʔwo* 'brother-in-law.'

Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Tacana *u-tse-kwa* 'grandchild.'

Macro-Ge: Ge: Krenje *pan-çwö* 'sister-in-law' (for *pan-*, see AUNT *pan* above).

• [Ruhlen 1994b] This suffix is often found on forms of the TINA/TANA/TUNA etymology.

405 INTERROGATIVE$_1$ **ta*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **taːniki* 'which, which ones, where are they.' Proto-Mosan **taː-* 'who, what, when.' Proto-Salish **s-tam* 'what.' Proto-Chimakuan **taqa-* ∼ *taqi-* 'who.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *teʔ* 'what.'

Penutian: Chinook *tan* 'what.' Oregon: Siuslaw *tɔn* 'what.' Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **tuː* 'what,' North Sahaptin *tunn* 'what.' California: Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *tinnə* 'what.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ti* 'what.' Totonac *tu* 'what.'

Hokan: Proto-Coahuiltecan **t'ete-* 'what,' Coahuilteco *t'aˈxaka* ∼ *xaˈka* 'what,' Comecrudo *tete* 'what, why, how,' Cotoname *tit* 'what.'

Chibchan: Yanomam *t^{h}əhə* 'when.'

Paezan: Barbacoan: Cayapo *tin* 'what,' Totoro *či'nɨ* 'what,' Colorado *tĩ* 'what,' Guambiano *či* 'what.'

Andean: Yamana *tara* 'when.' Mapudungu *tuči* ∼ *čuči* 'which one of . . . ,' *tunte(-n)* ∼ *čunte(-n)* 'how much.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *tiku* ∼ *tik^{y}u* 'what.'

Macro-Carib: Yagua *tãːra* 'what.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *tan* 'how many,' Palmas *ndena* 'how many.' Fulnio *to* 'what, which.'

• [MG68, G106]

406 INTERROGATIVE$_2$ **ki* ∼ **ka* ∼ **ku*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *gu-* 'when, where,' Yurok *kus* 'when, where,' Proto-Algonquian **keːkw-* 'which, something, anything,' Passamaquoddy *kek^w* 'what.' Kutenai *-ʔaqsa-* 'how many,' *ka* 'where.' Proto-Mosan **ʔaːki* 'who,' **ʔaqi* 'what,' **ga(ː)* 'who, which, where,' **q^{w}i-* ∼ **q^{w}a-* 'where, when,' Proto-Chimakuan **q^{w}oʔoc* 'how many,' Chemakum *āč'is* 'what,'

Quileute *-χaʔa* 'who,' *ak'is* 'what,' *qo-* 'where'; Wakashan: Kwakwala *gn* 'how many,' Nootka *ʔaqi-* 'what,' Bella Bella *akoiqkan* 'who'; Proto-Salish **k'ʷin* 'how many,' **ka(n)* 'do what, do something, be where, how,' Pentlatch *kwənča* 'where,' *kwəs* 'when,' Upper Chehalis *ka-n* 'do what?'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **guw'aː* 'how,' Keres *hēko* 'whither.' Siouan: Quapaw *ka* 'what,' Ofo *kaka* 'what,' Wichita *ʔēkiyaʔ* 'who.' Caddoan: Caddo *kwit* 'where.' Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kahneːʔ* 'who,' Cherokee *gago* 'who,' Onondaga *kanin* 'where,' Seneca *kwanu* 'who,' Mohawk *ka* 'where.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *gu* 'who.' Oregon: Takelma *kha-* 'what,' Alsea *qau* 'who,' Proto-Kalapuyan **ʔa(k)kaː* 'what,' Kalapuya *ūk,* Coos *qanč* 'where,' Siuslaw *qani.* Plateau: Klamath *kani* 'who,' *ka* 'which.' California: Costanoan: Miwok: Bodega Miwok *ʔeke* 'what,' *ʔeketto* 'where.' Zuni *kāk'i-pi* 'when.' Gulf: Wappo *ika* 'what, how,' Tunica *kaku* 'who,' *kanahku* 'what,' *kaʔaš* 'when,' Natchez *kanne* 'someone,' *gōš* 'what.' Huave *xaŋ* 'who,' *key* 'what.' Mayan: Quiché *xan* 'when.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a)čʰi* 'what,' Shasta *kura* 'where,' Achomawi *kiː* 'who,' Washo *kudiŋa* 'who,' *kuŋate* 'what,' *kuŋa* 'where,' Proto-Pomo **(baː)q'o(ː)* 'what,' North Pomo *k'o* 'what,' Central Pomo *k'owa* 'what?,' East Pomo *kia* 'who,' *k'owa* 'what,' Chumash *kune* 'who,' *kenu* 'why,' Esselen *kini* 'who,' *ke* 'where,' Yuman: Walapai *ka* 'who,' Seri *kiʔ* 'who,' Coahuilteco *ka* 'what,' Chontal *kanaʔ* 'when,' Tlappanec *gwana* 'when,' Jicaque *kat* 'where,' Yurimangui *kana* 'what,' *kuna* 'where.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztecan **kaːn* 'where,' **keːm* 'how,' **keː-ski* 'how much, how many,' Nahua *aʔkon* 'who,' Zacapoaxtla *akoni,* Yaqui *hakuni* 'where,' Isthmus Zapotec *gunaʔ,* Mazatec *kʔia* 'when.'

Chibchan: Cuna *kana* 'when,' Yanomam *ka* 'when,' Rama *kaiŋ* 'who, what, which,' Tarascan *kani* 'when,' Miskito *aykia,* Paya *agini,* Terraba *kene* 'where,' Tirub *koñe.*

Paezan: Totoro *kin* 'who,' Paez *kim* 'who,' *kĩh* 'what,' Proto-Choco **kʰai* 'who,' **kʰãrẽ* 'what,' Catio *kai* 'who,' Moguex *kina* 'who, what,' Tucura *karea* 'why,' Timucua *kʷene* 'who, which,' *ke* 'what, where, that,' *kere* 'when,' *-ko* 'the one who.'

Andean: Yahgan *kunna* 'who,' *kanin(a)* 'to whom,' *kana* 'where,' Tehuelche *keme* 'who,' *ken* 'which,' *kenaš* 'when,' *kienai* 'where,' Mapudungu *kam* 'how,' Aymara *kuna* 'what,' *kamisa* 'how,' *kauki* 'where,' Zaparoan: Iquito *kanəːka* 'who,' Proto-Quechuan **(h)ayka* 'how much.' Yamana *kana* 'who,' *kowtwa* 'what,' *kunči* 'which,' *kunta* 'what, how.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *kimɨ̃ni* 'what is it?,' Ticuna *karo* 'where,' *keyaito* 'when.'

Equatorial: Ayore *gōsi* 'who,' Tuyoneri *kate* 'what,' Yaruro *kanemo* 'when,' Uru *kanču,* Wapishana *kanum* 'what,' Puquina *kin.*

Macro-Carib: Bora *kʰaː-* ∼ *kʰeː* 'which.' Pemon *e-kin* ∼ *ek* ∼ *e* ∼ *ewin*

'what,' Yabarana *ekkwariyawa* 'when,' *akətto* 'where,' Witoto *akö* 'what,' Miranya *kia* 'where,' Faai *kiati,* Andoke *koide.* 'who'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *kine-kinema,* Macca *kacik* 'who,' *kona* 'when' (rel.), Taruma *gaga* 'what,' Proto-Tacanan **aʔi* 'what,' **aʔira* 'who,' **ʔaize* 'who, which,' **aʔipuki* 'why,' Tacana *ketsunu* 'when,' *kepia* 'where.'

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *kə̃* 'when.'

• [G102] There are, of course, many Amerind suffixes attached to this root, which remain to be sorted out. This root is also found in Khoisan, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Dene-Caucasian, Nahali, Austroasiatic and Austronesian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

407 INTERROGATIVE$_3$ **min* ~ **men* ~ **man*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala **m'a-* 'what.'

Keresiouan: Siouan: Mandan *mana* 'who,' *matswɛ* 'what,' Tutelo *mãʔtu* 'when.'

Penutian: Oregon: Siuslaw *minč* 'when,' Alsea *mis* 'when,' Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **mat^{l}* 'how many,' *mine* 'where,' North Sahaptin *mɛːn* 'where,' *mūn* 'when' *miš* 'how, why,' Nez Perce *mana* 'what,' *mine* 'where,' *maua* 'when.' California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **mi(n)-* 'what, that,' Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *minni* 'who,' *mitan* 'when,' *mičy* 'do what,' Northern Sierra Miwok *mini* 'where,' *mi-tan* 'when,' Bodega Miwok *manti* 'who,' Lake Miwok *manti* 'who.' Costanoan: San José *mani* 'where,' San Francisco *mato* 'who.' Wintun: Patwin *mena* 'where.' Gulf: Chitimacha *ʔam* 'what,' Atakapa *ma* 'where,' Muskogean: Choctaw *mano* 'when,' *imato* 'where,' Chickasaw *mano* 'where,' Proto-Yuki **məy'* 'who,' Yuki *im* 'who,' Coast Yuki *im* 'where,' Wappo *may* 'who.' Mexican: Mayan: Chontal *max* 'who,' Yucatec *ma-š* 'who,' Tzeltal *mač'a* 'who,' Jacaltec *mac(a)* 'who.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ma* 'who,' Yana *ʔambi,* East Pomo *am,* Chumash *muski,* Cocopa *makaya* 'where,' Diegueño *maːp* 'who,' *maʔyum* 'when,' *maːy* 'where,' Mohave *makač* 'who,' *maki* 'where,' Yuma *meki,* Maricopa *mekyenye* 'who,' *miki* 'where,' Akwa'ala *mukat* 'who,' Karankawa *muda* 'where.'

Central Amerind: Mazatec *hme* 'what.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *ambe* 'what,' Aruak: Guamaca *mai* 'who, how,' Kagaba *mai* 'who,' *mani* 'where,' *mitsa* 'when,' *mili* 'which,' Misumalpan: Cacaopera *ma(-ram)* 'where,' Matagalpa *man* 'where,' Bribri *mĩk* 'when,' Sumu *manpat* 'when,' Cabecar *mãnẽ* 'which,' Move *ama* 'where,' Chimila *miki* 'who,' *muru* 'when,' *me-ma* 'to where,' *me-k* 'from where.' Yanomam *mina kə* 'when.'

Paezan: Paez: Guambiana *mu* 'who,' *mana* 'when,' *mantɨ* 'how,' Totoro *man* 'how many,' *ma'na* 'when,' *mo'gɨ* 'who,' Paez *manč* 'when,' *manka*

'where,' *manzos* 'how often,' *mants* 'how many,' *mau* 'how,' Barbacoan: Cuaiquer *mɨn* 'who,' Cayapa *muŋ* ∼ *maː* 'who,' Colorado *moa* 'who,' *matuši* 'when.' Allentiac *men* 'when,' Choco: Catio *mai* 'where.' Timucua *miču* 'who, what, which.'

Andean: Sek *xamanmi* 'where,' Jebero *maʔ* 'what,' Cahuapana *ma-e* 'what,' *impi* 'when,' Proto-Quechuan **ima* 'what,' **imay* 'when,' **mayqin* ∼ **mayqan* 'which.' Mapudungu *mufɨ* 'how much.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Nukak *deːmanɨ* 'when,' Iranshe *-mɨ̃ni* 'where is it?'

Equatorial: Guamo *miku* 'what,' Yurucare *ama* 'who, which,' Tinigua *mné'á* 'who,' Yuruna *mane* 'who,' Paumari *-mani-* (interrogative), Candoshi *maya* 'what,' Esmeralda *muka* 'what,' Timote *mape* 'when,' Turiwara *maːpe* 'when, where,' Saliba *imakena* 'when,' *ameha* 'how,' Tuyoneri *menoka* 'when,' *me-yo* 'where,' Guajajara *mɔn* 'who,' Guayaki *ma* 'what, how,' Guarani *mba'e* 'what,' *mamo* 'where,' Cofan *mã-ni* 'where,' Maripu *manu(b)* 'in which direction,' Kandoshi *maya* 'what.' Uruku *mome* 'where is.' Toyeri *me-yo* 'where,' Yuracare *ama-se* 'whence?'

Macro-Carib: Witoto *mika* 'what,' Miranya *mukoka* 'when,' *mu* 'whose,' Witoto-Kaimö *muka* 'which.' Bora *muː-* 'who.'

Macro-Panoan: Nocten *emetta* 'what,' *mequie* 'when,' Toba-Guazu *mi* 'who.'

Macro-Ge: Caraho *ampo* 'what,' *manẽno* 'when,' *ampô-mẽ* 'which,' Puri *ya-moeni* 'when,' Aponegicran *muena* 'what,' Cayapo *mā* 'where,' Umutina *mašika* 'where,' *matuni* 'why,' Krenje *menõ* 'who,' *ampô-ny* 'why,' Botocudo *mina* 'who.'

• [G103] Many of the words cited above contain a locative *-n* and other suffixes remain to be sorted out. This root is also found in Khoisan, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Eurasiatic, Dene-Caucasian, Indo-Pacific, Australian, Nahali, and Austroasiatic (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

408 INTERROGATIVE$_4$ **xa*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-χa,* Chemakuan: Quileute *-χaʔa* 'who.' Wakashan: Nootka *-ḥaː* 'who.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **hau* 'who.'

Penutian: California **hV,* Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **hin-ṭi* 'what.' Proto-Maiduan **homo* 'where,' **hommaːti* 'why.' Proto-Gulf **-hã,* Proto-Yuki **haːy* 'what,' **hayma* 'how.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **x^{y}a.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **hi* 'what,' Proto-Tanoan **helV* 'what,' **hõ* 'what.'

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **hi* 'what.'

Paezan: Timucua *ha-ča* 'what, why, how, where,' *haleke* 'when,' *heke* 'when.'

Andean: Yamana *hapa* 'how.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *haiso'n* 'how,' *hanneʔa* 'who.'
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *hãri ke* 'how.'

• The relationship of this root with INTERROGATIVE$_2$ *ki* ∼ *ka* ∼ *ku* is unclear.

409 INTERROGATIVE$_5$ **na*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **ʔin(w)* 'say what.'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *neʔ* 'when.'
Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *nek-ti* 'who.' California: Maidu: Mountain Maidu *ʔani* 'that.' Zuni *ʔona* 'one who, that which.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **n^{y}a* 'when.' Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *anipoˑkaˑ* 'which.'
Chibchan: Tarascan *neskiṛi* 'who.' Rama *ni(ka)* ∼ *nikuk* ∼ *nis(aŋ)* 'how.' Yanomam *nih* 'when.'
Andean: Mapudungu *iney* ∼ *iniy* 'who.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **na* 'when.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Macusi *onoŋ* 'which,' *ane* 'who,' Surinam *ɨine* 'which'; Witotoan: Witoto *nine* 'where,' Muinane *nɨno* 'where,' *nɨrui* 'why,' *nə* 'what'; Yagua: Yameo *na* 'who,' **nen* ∼ *nun* 'what,' Yagua *nuːča* 'how.' Bora: Miranya *ine* 'what.' Pemon *ane* ∼ *ane-kin* 'who.'
Macro-Ge: Fulnio *naši* 'who.' Kaingang *nenẽ* 'what,' *ʔõnẽ* 'who.'

• [G104]

410 INTERROGATIVE$_6$ **pi*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **ba-* 'where.'
Hokan: Proto-Pomo **(baː)q'o(ː)* 'what.' Coahuilteco *pil'ka* 'who.'
Chibchan: Proto-Aruak *bih* 'where,' *be* ∼ *me* 'who.' Proto-Chibcha **(a-)bai-N* 'who.' Rama *pinso* 'when.'
Paezan: Millcayac *pa* 'who.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **pi* 'who.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **pai* 'where.' Muniche *pe-* 'what,' *pema* ∼ *pum* 'how.' Movima *obe* 'how.'
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **pa-kuenia* 'how.'
Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **(b)õ-* 'who.'

• [G105]

411 INTERROGATIVE$_7$ **wa*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **wVɨʔa* 'who,' **wekwi* 'what,' Proto-Algonquian **aweːna* 'who,' **weːkw-* 'what is it?' Proto-Mosan **waː-* 'who, which, how, where.' Proto-North Wakashan **w'y-* 'where, when, how far, which one, to what degree.' Proto-Salish **s-wat* 'who.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *wihw* 'know how.'
Chibchan: Yanomam *wetinaha* 'how,' *wɨti* t^h*ə* 'which,' *wɨti* t^h*əm* 'when,' *wɨtipi* 'who, what.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *warante* 'how.' Achuar *wari* 'what,' *warutam* 'how much,' *warutik* 'when.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **awa* ∼ **awï* 'what.'

412 INTERROGATIVE$_8$ **sin*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **s–i/a–n* 'who, which.' Proto-Sahaptian **ši:* 'who.'
Paezan: Proto-Choco **sak*^{h}*a* 'how,' **sãpe* 'when.' Warao *sina* 'who, some, any.' Timucua *sok*^{w}*a* 'how many.'
Macro-Carib: Yagua *šĩ:* 'who.'

413 ITERATIVE **-te*

Penutian: California: Miwok: [languages] *-ti* (iterative plural in verbs), Maidu *-to* 'repeatedly, reciprocally, plural object.' Gulf: Wappo *-tɛ* (iterative plural in verbs).
Hokan: Pomo: East Pomo t^h- (intermittent action); Salinan *-t(e)-* (iterative plural in nouns and verbs).
• [G74]

414 JAGUAR$_1$ **huko*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **xĩʔko,* Witoto *höko,* Ocaina *hoʔoko,* Coeruna *öigho,* Andoquero *öko,* Orejone *hüko*; Bora: Muinane *höku.*
Macro-Ge: Ge: Acroa *hukutu,* Cherente *rhuku,* Chikriaba *uku,* Chavante *hu.*

415 JAGUAR$_2$ **yak*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(ʔ)ya(H)(n)* 'jaguar, mountain lion, coyote, wolf.'
Andean: Qawasqar *yaqap* 'female wolf.'
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **yaʔwar.* Achuar *yãwãã.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **yai,* Pioje *yai,* Cubeo *yaui,* Hehenawa *yawi,* Tucano *yai,* Uantya *yahi.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Waiana *yaueri,* Upurui *yaueri.*
Macro-Panoan: Mataco *haiyüx,* Vejoz *haiyag,* Nocten *eyax,* Choropi *ya:x,* Suhin *yaox,* Ashluslay *iyox.*
Macro-Ge: Kamakan *yakoe-dere,* Mongoyo *yake-dere,* Masacara *yakveo.*
• English 'jaguar' is a borrowing from Tupi-Guarani.

416 KILL *pa ∼ *pi

Almosan: Kutenai *-ip-* 'die.'

Penutian: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **pi* 'die, dead.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **piy ∼ *puy ∼ *Po* 'die,' Proto-Yuman **pi* 'die, kill,' **piːka* 'die.' Comecrudo *pa-plau* 'die.' Tequistlatec *ba(ʔma)* 'hit.' Yana *baː* 'hit.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **paka ∼ *paki.* Proto-Tanoan **piu* 'die.'

Chibchan: Chibcha: Manare *paya-gui* 'kill.' Cuna *ipyoa* 'kill.' Tarascan *ahpe* 'kill.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa *pe, peya* 'die,' Colorado *pu(-yae)* 'die.' Proto-Choco **pea* 'kill,' **piu-* 'die,' Chami *piueː* 'die.'

Andean: Yamana *afan* 'die.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *pi-.*

Equatorial: Coche *obana* 'dead.' Cofan *pa* 'die, dead.' Esmeralda *uba-le* 'died,' *uba-nege* 'assassin.' Kariri: Kariri *pa,* Kamaru *pa* 'be dead.' Maipuran: Toyeri *bei* 'die.' Trumai *fa.* Yuracare *bobo.* Pakaasnovos *paʔ.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Surinam *wo* 'hit, kill,' Taulipang *we,* Pauishana *ipo(-ke)* 'kill!' Witoto *fa* (Kinder), *pa* (Minor).

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *bi* 'die,' Umotina *bia* 'die, kill.' Botocudo *paog.* Fulnio *pa* 'hit.' Proto-Ge **pĩ(r).* Opaie *pie* 'die.'

• [A155]

417 KNEE$_1$ *kati

Penutian: Chinook: Wishram *iqxwit.* Gulf: Atakapa *ikat.*

Chibchan: Guaymi: Move *ngurie* 'shin.' Misumalpan: Ulua, Sumu *kal* 'shin.' Tarascan *-kari-*(incorporated) 'shin.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *ĩnã-kati* (*ĩnã* = 'foot'). Proto-Nambikwara **kat'.* Shukuru *gati* 'shin.'

Equatorial: Kariri: Dzubucua, Kamaru *kudu.* Maipuran: Kustenau *kati* 'leg,' Waura *kate* 'leg,' Wapishana *kudura,* Mapidiana *kuduru.* Tusha *kudu* 'shin.' Uro: Uro, Chipaya *kuc, kuci.* Zamuco: Chamacoco *os-ikketi,* Tumraha *kažete.*

Macro-Panoan: Lule *akc.* Mataco: Suhin *akwis,* Towothli *koːic.* Moseten *kacege.*

• [A156]

418 KNEE$_2$ *moko

Penutian: Zuni *mokči* 'elbow.' Gulf: Chitimacha *moːku*; Tunica *muhki* 'to bow.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *muhkehk* 'crouch,' *muknay* 'crouch'; Huave *mohkeh* 'crouch.'

Hokan: Chimariko *h-itxan-imaxa* (*h-itxan* = 'leg'). Pomo: Southwest Pomo *moko.* Washo *moko.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 436 **mac* 'thigh.'

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Sumu *kalas-mak* (cf. *kal* 'foot'). Yanoama: Yanomamï *makoke.*

Paezan: Betoi *re-moka* 'foot.' Choco: Napipi *makara* 'thigh.' Itonama *muka-kano* 'hip, thigh.' Yanoama: Yanomamï *makoke.*

419 KNIFE **pika*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **pegemiːpi* 'stone knife,' Proto-North Wakashan **pχ-* 'cut,' ?Kwakwala *puχba.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pika.*

420 KNOW$_1$ **kom*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *kom(cum).* Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *kamat'ap,* Nitinat *kaʔbat'p,* or *?ḥimop.* Chemakuan: Quileute *χab-* 'know how.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *hõ.* Proto-Siouan **xʔũ.*

Penutian: California: Costanoan: San Francisco *hima* 'see,' Santa Clara *xima-i* 'see' (Costanoan *h* and *x* probably derive from **k)*; Wintun *q'omiha* 'understand, answer.' Gulf: Chitimacha *kimi* 'think,' Wappo *kɔm* 'think,' Muskogean: Creek *koːm-ita* 'think.' Mexican: Mayan: Kekchí *kam* 'answer.'

Andean: Mapudungu *kim-* 'know, know how.'

- [A158]

421 KNOW$_2$ **yok*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **yuk^{h}u,* Takelma *yok^{h}y-.* California: Maidu *yakkit.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i/u)ya,* Proto-Yuman **uyax.* Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **yoxa* 'think.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(ʔ)ya(n)* 'know, hear, see,' **yu* 'show, teach.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **yač̣a-.*

Macro-Carib: Yagua *ǰeːča.*

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *yɨkrɛn* 'think.'

- [P133]

422 KNOW$_3$ **k^{w}ak*

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **k^{w}i* 'perceive.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(Y)k^{w}a(h)(n)* 'know, see, look.'

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **guakk* 'see.'

Paezan: Timucua *k^{w}ači* 'give, teach,' *uk^{w}a* 'teach, undertake.' Proto-Choco

k^hawa.

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani *k^waːβ.*

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Bora *k^waːxak^{h}u,* Miraña *k^waːhak^{h}ï.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *k^waʔï-.*

423 KNOW$_4$ *ma(k) ∼ *ma(n)

Penutian: California Penutian *mak.*

Hokan: Coahuilteco *-maˈs* ∼ *maš* 'see.' Comecrudo *max* ∼ *mahe* ∼ *ma* 'see.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *mɑw(a)* 'see.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan *ma ∼ *mai ∼ *mati.*

Chibchan: Yanomam *mɨ* 'see, look.'

Paezan: Timucua *mani* 'understand,' *man* 'think.' Barbacoan: Cayapa *minu,* Colorado *mira-.* Inter-Andine: Totoro *mɨrɨpik* 'wise man.' Warao *mi* 'see.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *mãsĩ.*

Equatorial: Resigaro *manaː -toʔ.*

424 KNOW$_5$ *naka

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *nakateːlemeːwa 'know well, accustomed, used to.'

Hokan: Coahuilteco *-naˈko* 'think.'

Paezan: Warao *nahobo* 'know, understand.' Timucua *nahiabo* 'know, understand.'

Equatorial: Achuar *nekaːtin.* Proto-Guahiban *nahunatabɨ 'think.'

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *naha* 'see.'

425 KNOW$_6$ *rik

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *rihə̃ti* 'teach.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *riqsi- 'know,' *rikaː- ∼ *riku- 'see.' Mapudungu *rakiθuam-* 'think.'

426 KNOW$_7$ *t'ak^w

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *t'a-, Proto-Salish *tak^w 'perceive.' Proto-Chimakuan *t'ak^{w}i- 'know, perceive.'

Chibchan: Yanomam *ta* 'know, see, look.'

Paezan: Timucua *talaka* 'learn' (< *takala; cf. Iranshe below). Millcayac *taltewina.*

Andean: Yamana *teki* 'see.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *takaʔa* 'know, understand,' *takalohu* 'learn.'

Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *tačiʔ* 'know (a fact).' Proto-Guahiban *ta-Ne 'see.'

427 LARGE$_1$ *ta(k)

Almosan: Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ta:-* 'long object'; Salish: Tillamook *tan.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan *t^hã.*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *ʔa:di* 'long.' California: Miwok: Lake *ʔadi.* Gulf: Chitimacha *ʔati.*

Hokan: Chimariko *eta* ∼ *itat* 'many.' Comecrudo *sekua* 'many.' Cotoname *ata:* 'very.' Karok: Karok *tay* 'many,' Arra-Arra *tai(kh)* 'many.' Seri *-atxo* 'many.' Tequistlatec *ataxu* 'many.' Tonkawa *tek* 'many.' Washo *t'ekyu* 'many.' Yana *dat'-* 'many.' Yuman: Yuma *ʔatay* 'many,' Kiliwa *tay* 'many,' Walapai *teka* 'many.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *t^hɔ* 'far.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 76 **tu* 'large, long, far.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Huari *watæa.* Nambikwara: Northern Nambikwara *a:t.* Puinave: Puinave *wotwot* 'long,' Papury *wotyi* 'broad.' Ticuna *ta.* Yuri *tihi* 'large, broad' (Wallace), *tiy* (Spix).

Equatorial: Jivaro: Zamora *unda.* Maipuran: Toyeri *-da, -nda.*

Macro-Panoan: Lengua *towa-nyi* 'deep.' Mataco: Choroti *tiohi* ∼ *to* ∼ *tu* 'high, long.' Panoan: Caripuna *tẽtẽ* 'long,' Chacobo *tɨtɨka* 'deep.' Tacanan: Proto-Tacanan **du-* 'deep,' Tacana *due-da* 'deep,' Cavineña *de(-da)* 'deep.'

Macro-Ge: Caraja *titi* 'many.' Chiquito *ti:* 'long.' Ge: Kraho *-ti* (augmentative), Krenje *ti* 'many,' Ramkokamekran *ti* 'large.' Kaingang: Catarina *taie* 'long, high,' Tibagi *teie* 'long,' Palmas *tei* 'long, high.' Mashakali: Capoxo *itoita* 'long,' Macuni *it^hoit^{h}a* 'long.' Opaie *ta* 'large.' Puri *tahe* 'large.'

• [A159]

428 LARGE$_2$ *mek'at'i

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **meʔθ, *meʔš.* Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *ma:t'ča,* Quileute *meʔši*; Salish: Lkungen *mukku* 'all,' Nootsack *mq'w* 'all,' Songish *məkw* 'all,' etc. Cf. Kutenai *-ma-* 'long object.'

Keresiouan: Keresan: Santa Ana *m'e:zičɪ.*

Penutian: Oregon: Siuslaw *mekšt* 'fat' (n.), *mi:xt* 'fat' (adj.), Coos *mici-s* 'fat' (n.) Plateau: Nez Perce *imeke-s.* California: Yokuts *meṭ',* Costanoan: Mutsun, San Juan Bautista *matili*; Maidu: Nisenan *muk'.* Gulf: Tunica *maka* 'fat' (n.), Atakapa *mec.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 165 **meka* 'far.'

Andean: Cholona: Cholona *mek* 'all,' Hivito *maxal* 'much.' Patagon: Ona *meheš* ∼ *makes* 'all.' Yamana: Yamana *maːgu* 'many,' Yahgan *mu:ka* 'large, long.'

• [A160]

429 LARGE$_3$ **po*

Hokan: Jicaque *-po* (augmentative), Subtiaba *-mba* (augmentative).
Chibchan: Duit *oba,* Chilanga *buy.*
Paezan: Itonama *bɨ.*
• [H89, CP110]

430 LARGE$_4$ **moːn*

Andean: Leco *umun,* Iquito *uːmaːna.*
Macro-Carib: Proto-Carib **moːnomi,* Ocaina *aːmon* 'grow.'
• [AN64, MC32]

431 LAUGH$_1$ **kal(i)*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 127 **(n)kan* 'laugh.'
Chibchan: Misumalpan: Matagalpa *kari.* Yanoama: Shiriana *ĩka, ĩkara.*
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *kari, kakari.* Chimu: Eten *kall.*
Andean: Culli *kankiu.* Cholona: Hivito *kolxam.* Zaparo *kora.*
• [A161]

432 LAUGH$_2$ **ʔaci*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **asiy-o.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔac.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **asi.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ʔosã-.*

433 LAZY **hilak*

Penutian: Proto-Gulf **hilak.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ila,* Proto-Yuman **hilah.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **qiʎa.*

434 LEAF$_1$ **ere*

Equatorial: Cayuvava *ene.* Jivaro: Shuara *uri* 'feather.' Kariri *era.* Yuracare *ele.* Zamuco: Tumraha *ingyu.*
Macro-Ge: Bororo *aro.* Caraja *iru.* Kamakan: Kamakan, Cotoxo *ere.*
• [A162]

435 LEAF$_2$ **pane*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Taos *baːne,* Jemez *fõya* 'leaf, grass.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 233 **(n)k^{w}a(h)(ʔ)n* 'leaf, bush-plant, herb.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Canamari *ba.* Puinave *puniohn.* Tucano: Ua-

iana *poni,* Desana *pũ,* Wanana *poli,* etc.

Equatorial: Arawa: Yamamadi, Culino *apani.* Chapacura: Itene, Wanyam *pana* 'tree,' Chapacura *pane* 'firewood.' Maipuran: *pana,* general as 'leaf,' but Uainuma *abana* 'tree,' Ipurina *amana* 'tree,' Jumana *awana* 'tree.' Uro *parna, para* 'firewood.'

• [A163]

436 LEAF$_3$ **imi*

Hokan: Chimariko *himi* 'feather.' Tequistlatec *imi* 'feather.'

Macro-Carib: Bora: Muinane *aːme.* Carib: Pimenteira *uma.* Witoto: Witoto *ibe,* Miranya Carapana Tapuya *ame.* Yagua *mi.*

• [A164]

437 LEFT (HAND) **q$^{(w)}$ec'*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *kes(-omewet),* Proto-Algonquian **-waːšika* (numeral suffix attached to numerals counted on the left hand), ?Blackfoot *aːksisauoxtsi* 'at the left.' Mosan: Proto-Salish (Kuipers) **c'iq^{w}* (metathesis), Twana *c'iq^{w}a(-či),* Shuswap *c'ək^{w}eʔ-ekeʔ,* Lower Fraser *sc'ik^{w}a,* Colville *s-k-c'ík^{w}-aʔ,* Straits Salish *c'ək^{w}əʔíw's,* Upper Chehalis *c'íwq',* Nootsack *θik^{w}a,* Lkungen *c'k^{w}aʔíwʔs,* Coeur d'Alene *c'ik^{w}-eʔ,* Tillamook *yqači*; Wakashan: Nootka *qac,* Nitinat *qacās*; Chemakuan: Chemakum *k^{w}icaqu,* Quileute *c'uq^{w}* (metathesis).

Keresiouan: Siouan: Hidatsa *ida-kiša* (cf. *ada* 'arm'), Biloxi *ḳaskani.* Yuchi *kaš'ó.* Iroquoian: Cherokee *agasgani,* Onondaga *sketsíuka* 'left hand.'

Penutian: Oregon: Coos *a'qčîčunī.* California: Miwok: Lake Miwok *k'eṣíiliwa* 'left (direction),' *k'eṣíili* 'to be left-handed.' Zuni *wešikkʔa* 'left hand' (Cf. Proto-Algonquian **waːšika* above.) Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **keʔs,* Atakapa *kec* ∼ *kuc,* Chitimacha *kiˑs,* Tunica *ʔokešta* 'the left hand,' Yuki *me-kač'* 'left hand,' Muskogean: Creek *kaskaná.* Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil (Kaufman) **k'ešam* 'left hand.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan (Kaufman) **Kisár-iK* 'left(handed).' ?Atsugewi *kawkosūʔkə.* Yuman: Proto-Yuman (Wares) **kəsár,* Cocopa *kuṣar,* Maricopa *kusar,* Mohave *kuθar,* Walapai *kaθara,* Havasupai *kiθarika,* Yavapai *kθari,* Tipai *ksark,* Diegueño *kesárk,* Campo *ksaˑrk,* and Akwa'ala *kasárk.*

Chibchan: Manare *kuc(-maya)* 'left (hand),' ?Rama *kwik sak* 'left hand' (cf. *kwik baing* 'right hand').

Andean: Pehuelche *kesna,* Jaqaru *c'iqa,* Aymara *č'eqaxar,* Quechua *icox.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Papury *coχ* (possibly a borrowing from Quechua). Tucanoan: Yabamasa *gaco-catɨa* 'left hand' (cf. *ríod^{z}oa-catɨa* 'right hand').

Equatorial: Timote *kučumiya.*

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **kɛč,* Mashakali *čač.*

• [AK112, MG71, Ruhlen 1995b, 1995k] Metathesis of the two consonants

appears to have occured independently in several branches. The Cherokee form, *agasgani*, is virtually identical with Biloxi *ḳaskani* and Creek *kaskaná*. Mary Haas (1968: 82) noted the resemblance between the Biloxi and Creek forms and suggested borrowing as the explanation, but was not able to determine in which direction. I suspect that the source was originally Cherokee since in this language the word for 'arm' is *kanoge*, while in Creek and Biloxi the second element in *kas-kani* has no identifiable meaning.

438 LEG$_1$ **tak*

Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *ʔat*. Yukian: Wappo *ṭaʔ*, Clear Lake *t'a*.

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *t^{h}ũ*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 187 **ta*, **to* 'foot.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Koaia *toʔa* ∼ *toha* 'foot.' Puinave: Marahan *doi* 'foot.' Yuri *uti* 'foot.'

Equatorial: Cofan *cei* 'foot.' Esmeralda *taha, ta* 'foot.' Guahibo: Guahibo *taxu* 'foot,' Cuiva *taxo* 'foot.' Piaroa *ciha* 'thigh.' Trumai *da*. Yaruro [tahuh].

Macro-Carib: Andoke *ka-dekkhe* 'foot.' Bora: Bora *take*, Imihita *me-taxki*.

Macro-Panoan: Charruan: Charrua *atit*. Guaicuru: Mbaya *itti*, Pilaga *iče*, Toba *ači*, Komlek *iči*. Mataco: Suhin *atoi*, Vejoz *če*. Proto-Panoan **taʔɨ*. Proto-Tacanan **ta-*, **tiɨ*.

Macro-Ge: Bororo *tori*. Caraja *ti*. Chiquito *i-ča-s*. Erikbatsa *(ka-)it(-ma)*. Proto-Ge **tɛ*. Kaingang: Catarina *(in-)co* 'my leg.' Kamakan: Cotoxo *tie*. Cf. Oti [taz], [tazh], [etage].

• [A165]

439 LEG$_2$ **caka*

Almosan: Fox *-ska-* 'with the foot,' Yurok *cka* 'foot,' Kutenai *saq'*.

Chibchan: Chibcha *tsa-sagua-ne* 'kneecap.'

Paezan: Andaqui *sa-sagua-na* 'tibia.'

• [AK113, CP167]

440 LICK **laq'^{w}*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **laː-* 'protruding tongue,' Proto-Salish **ɬaq^w* ∼ **luq^w* ∼ **ɬak^w* ∼ **luk^w*. Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔlq^w-* 'lick, stick out the tongue,' *l'aχ^w-* 'stick out the tongue.' Proto-Chemakuan **lak^{w}i-*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **ʎek^{y}i* 'tongue.'

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **leːk'^{w}*.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ʎaqwa-*.

441 LIE DOWN **yaq^w*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **yaq^w-* 'lie somewhere, lie still.' Proto-

Chimakuan **yak^{w}i-* 'dream, go out and return.'

Penutian: Gulf: Wappo *yɔkɛ* 'lie, sit,' Atakapa *yoxt* (plural subject). Mexican: Proto-Mayan **yoq-*, Proto-Mixe-Zoque **yeʔp* 'lay out,' **ye(ʔ)y* 'lay out (coffee beans.)

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i)yow* 'down,' Proto-Yuman **yak* 'lie, be prone,' **miːyaka* 'lie down.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **ya^{x}* 'sleep.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ya* 'die.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)(H)ya(h)(n)* 'sleep, dream, night, dusk.'

Chibchan: Rama *yuktiŋi* 'sitting down.'

Paezan: Warao *yahi.*

• [P142]

442 LIGHTNING **wilep'*

Penutian: Tsimshian *liplib.* Plateau: Klamath *wlep'lʔ.* Proto-California **wi/ule/op,* Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **wilːep,* Plains Miwok *wúlʔep,* Southern Sierra Miwok *willopaʔ,* Santa Clara Costanoan *wilep,* Maidu *wip'íl* (metathesis). Zuni *wilo.*

Chibchan: Rama *werkirli.*

Paezan: Itonama *welask'e.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *iʎapa.*

• [P146] Cf. SHINE below.

443 LIP **yepi*

Keresiouan: Siouan: Biloxi *(ihi)-yapi* '(mouth-)lips.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **yepiṭ'* 'lips,' Gulf: Wappo *(na-)pipa* '(mouth-)lips.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *pi-.*

Equatorial: Arawa: Culino *ipou.* Guamo *du-fpa.* Maipuran: Baniva *api,* Marawa *beu, biu* 'mouth.' Otomaco *jopo.* Piaroa *(ce-)he.* Tupi: Mundurucu *ubi* 'mouth,' Kuruaya *bi* 'mouth.' Zamuco: Zamuco *aho,* Tumraha *ho.*

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Pilaga, Toba-Guazu *ap,* Guachi *iape* 'lip, mouth.' Mataco *(le-)pe* 'door.' Vilela *yep* 'mouth.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *(ka-)fi* 'mouth,' Bora: Bora *(me-)he* 'mouth,' Imihita *me-eh* 'mouth.' Carib: Pemon *yepi,* Proto-Taranoan **əhpi* ∼ *ehpi.* Taulipang *ipi* 'lip,' Accawai *epi* 'lip,' etc. Witoto: Nonuya *ofwe* 'mouth,' Ocaina *poi* 'mouth,' Witoto *fue* 'mouth.' Yagua: Yameo *ipe* 'mouth' (Tessman), *po* 'mouth' (Espinosa Perez).

• [A167]

444 LIVE$_1$ (v.) **ha(n)*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Mohawk *ha.* Siouan-Yuchi: Yuchi *ha.*

Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *hana* 'house,' Yuki *han* 'house.'

• [AK118, P119]

445 LIVE$_2$ (v.) **ya*

Hokan: Subtiaba *ya,* Seri *-iʔ,* Yana *yai* 'stay.'
Chibchan: Paya *uya* 'nest.'
Paezan: Cayapa *ya* 'house,' Panikita *ya* 'house.'
• [H96, CP106]

446 LIVER$_1$ **paci*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **wīswi* 'gall,' Montagnais *uiši-* 'bitter.' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *mas* 'bile'; Salish: Cowichan, Musqueam *məs-ən* 'gall,' Chilliwak *məs-əl* 'gall.'
Keresiouan: Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Hidatsa *apiša* 'liver,' Crow *išīa* 'bitter,' Yuchi *w'asdá* 'sour' (v.). Caddoan: Wichita *wass* 'bitter.' Iroquoian: Cherokee *uyəsdi* 'bitter.'
Penutian: Plateau: Nez Perce *pisakas* 'bitter.' Gulf: Atakapa *añpats* 'sour.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **fusi,* Achomawi: Atsugewi *o:psi,* Chumash: San Buenaventura *paɬ.* Karok *vafis.* Shasta *ʔe:psiʔ.* Proto-Yuman **cipusi,* Cocopa *č-ipošo,* Mohave *hipasa,* Tipai *tapsi,* Akwa'ala *čuposi,* etc. Cf. Washo *p'a:p'iš* 'lungs'; Chimariko *(hu-)si.*
Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca, Atanque *pešu* 'chest.' Chibcha: Manare *pasi-gui* 'sweet' (*-gui* ='not'), Boncota *beča* 'chest.' Misumalpan: Sumu *pas* 'chest.' Rama *i-psa* 'liver,' Cuitlatec *bahči* 'sour,' Guajiquero *pasa* 'bitter.'
Paezan: Allentiac: Millcayac *počok* 'belly.' Barbacoa: Cayapa *basu* 'human liver,' Chimu: Eten *počak.* Jirajara: Ayoman *apox* 'belly.' Paez: Paez *pos* 'sour,' Guambiana *pace.*
Andean: Zaparo *hipacka* 'gall,' Yamana *hīpa* 'liver,' Quechua *p'ošqo* 'sour.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Nadobo *böčihign* 'sour.'
Equatorial: Chapacura: Itene *fotofoto* 'lungs.' Guahibo *apeto* (but *-to* may be a suffix). Tupi: Mekens *opita.* Yuracare *ipasa.* Zamuco: Ebidoso *ipete.* Candoshi *šipič* 'liver,' Caranga *paxč* 'liver.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **paçe* 'bitter,' Tacana *paceda* 'bitter,' Huarayo *pase* 'bitter,' Moseten *bicca* 'bitter.'
Macro-Ge: Chiquito *piča-ka-s* 'bitter.'
• [A168] Some forms may be borrowed from Spanish *pecho.* This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

447 LIVER$_2$ **kala*

Penutian: California **kVl(l)V,* Proto-Maiduan **kɨl(-)la,* Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **kɨl(:)a,* Zuni *hak^{w}k^{w}ali.*
Hokan: Proto-Pomo **k^{h}ahlaʎ.*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **eleli?.*

448 LIZARD$_1$ **uli*

Chibchan: Guaymi: Penomeño *ru.* Malibu: Chimila *ari* 'iguana.' Paya *uri* 'alligator.' Yanoama: Shiriana *ueli* 'crocodile.'
Equatorial: Chapacura: Itene *ira.* Tupi: Kepkiriwate *ira, era* 'crocodile.' Yuracare *uri* 'alligator.'
• [A169]

449 LIZARD$_2$ **šiko*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **šiko.*
Chibchan: Tarascan *sak^{h}i.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ṣïkï.*

450 LOCATIVE$_1$ **-(a)m(a)*

Penutian: Tsimshian *-əm* ∼ *-am* (locative). Oregon: Alsea *-əm* 'place,' *k^{y}i-m* 'there,' Coos *-əm* (suffix on nouns of place), Takelma *me* 'here.' California: Costanoan: San José *-mo* ∼ *-mu* 'in,' San Juan Bautista *-me* 'in'; Miwok: [languages??] *-m(u)* 'in'; Maidu *moːm* 'there' (cf. *moː* 'that'). Gulf: Wappo *ma-* 'in' (verb prefix), Yuki *-(a)m* 'in,' Muskogean: Creek *i-ama* 'here.'
Macro-Carib: Yagua: Yameo *-me* ∼ *-ma* 'at, in,' ?Witoto *-mo* (allative).
Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Chama *-me* 'location'; Lule *-ma* 'in'; Charruan: Chana *re-ma* 'where?'; Lengua: Mascoy *-me* 'in.'
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *-ma* (dative).
• [G46]

451 LOCATIVE$_2$ **-na-* ∼ **-ni*

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptin *(mə-)na* 'where?,' Nez Perce *(mi-)ne* 'where?' California: Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *mi-nni* 'where?'; Wintun: Patwin *(me-)na* 'where?' Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw *(ma-)na* 'when?,' Chickasaw *(ma-)no* 'where?'
Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *ma-ni* 'where?'; Misumalpan: Matagalpa *ma-n* 'where?'
Paezan: Paez *(ma-)neh* 'where?'; Barbacoan: Cayapa *mu-ng* 'where?'
Andean: Yamana: Yahgan *-n* (locative); Aymara *-ana* (locative), *-na* (locative in an adverb), Quechua *-n* (instrumental); Jebero *-n* (instrumental).
Equatorial: Cofan *(ma-)ñi* 'where?'
• [G47] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

452 LOCATIVE$_3$ **pa* ~ **pe* ~ **pi*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean (Rensch, No. 191) **k^{w}a* 'here, there, where?'; Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Langacker) **-pa(n)* (locative); Tanoan: Kiowa *-ba* ~ *-bɔ* 'in.'

Andean: Yahgan *pi* 'in'; Ona, Tehuelche *-pi* 'in'; Quechua *-pi* 'in.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Tucano *-pe* 'in'; Iranshe *-pa* 'place.'

Equatorial: Tupian: Guaraní *-pe* 'in,' Arikem *-pi* 'in,' Guayaki *-pe* 'in'; Timote *-be* 'toward.'

• [G48]

453 LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL **-te* ~ **-ta* ~ **-ti*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *di* 'place of.' California: Maidu *di* 'in,' Wintun *-ti* (in *anken-ti* 'behind');

Chibchan: Guaymi: Move *-te* 'in.'

Paezan: Allentiac *-ta* (movement to or from), Millcayac *-ta* (supine on verb stems); Choco: Catio *-de* (locative).

Andean: Aymara: Jaqaru *-t^{h}a* (separatives, from, for, exchange); Quechua *(man-)ta* (ablative, *man* is locative); Cholona *-te* 'from' (separative).

Macro-Panoan: Lule *-ta* 'through, in,' Vilela *-at* 'in'; Moseten *če* 'in, about.'

• [G49] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

454 LONG$_1$ **ali*

Penutian: California: Miwok: Central Sierra *ʔala-kan* 'below.' Gulf: Tunica *halu* 'below, under.' Yukian: Wappo *ɛla* 'deep.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Bintucua *vari-n* 'high.' Cuitlatec *iwili.* Cuna *wila* 'deep.' Paya *uruha* 'deep.' Tarascan *era-ka-ta* 'tall.' Xinca: Yupultepec *ura.*

Paezan: Mura *uri.* Paez: Paez *wala,* Moguex *wala.* Warrau *wari.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Canamari *inu* 'far.' Proto-Nambikwara **u:l* 'far.' Puinave *hen* 'far.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Arara *ari* 'large.' Witoto: Witoto *are* 'long, high, far,' Nonuya *arə* 'large, long,' Muinane *are* 'long, far.' Cf. Kukura *lar* 'long.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *raire.* Botocudo *orore* 'long, high.' Caraja *irɛhɛ.* Fulnio *ule* 'be long.' Proto-Ge **rɨ.* Kaingang: Southern Kaingang *rɨ* 'be high.' Kamakan *iroro.* Puri: Coroado *oron* 'on high.' Cf. Opaie *randa* 'tall man.'

• [A170] Cf. MANY$_1$ *ali.*

455 LONG$_2$ **kule*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **kenw,* Micmac *kunek* 'far'; Yurok *knew.* Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *-kən* 'too much.'

Penutian: Oregon: Coos *qat*^{l}. California: Wintun: North Wintu *kelela.* Gulf: Chitimacha *k'ama,* Yukian: Yuki *kãi,* Wappo *k'ɛna,* Huchnom *kaiyi:n.*

Hokan: Chimariko *hi-čun, xu-ičul-an* 'short.' Coahuilteco *čan* 'beyond, farther.' Karok *xara.* Pomo: North, Central Pomo *kol,* South Pomo *aʔkon,* etc. Tequistlatec *igulwo* 'deep,' *aguliʔ* 'far.' Yuman: Cocopa *kul,* Diegueño *koɬ,* Tonto *ikule,* etc.

Chibchan: Chibcha: Tegria *karo* 'far.' Paya *kara* 'far.' Talamanca: Tirub *kronge* 'far.'

• [A171]

456 LOSE **wono*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **wani-.*

Penutian: Proto-Maiduan **wonno.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **βïʔno-* 'lost.'

457 LOUSE$_1$ **ti*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **ti:wi.* California: Proto-Maiduan **dih* 'louse (head).'

Paezan: Mura: Matanawi *iši, isi, išo* 'flea.' Proto-Choco **t^{h}ɨ̃.* Paez: Paez *es.*

Macro-Panoan: Lule [cey] *sey.* Moseten *ci:.*

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *tuk, tum* 'flea, sandfly.' Chiquito *o-itori-s* 'tick.' Ge: Chavante *ti* 'tick,' Cayapo *tære* 'tick.' Mashakali: Monosho *toktao* 'flea.' Opaie *tei* 'tick.' Yabuti: Mashubi *čičika* 'tick.'

• [A172] The relationship between this root and the following is unclear.

458 LOUSE$_2$ **tina*

Almosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *síʔdis* 'nits.' Wakashan: Heiltsuk *səndən* 'nits,' Kwakwala *snt* 'nits.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **šina:* 'louse, flea.' Iroquoian: Cherokee *tina,* Seneca *d^{z}i:ʔnoh,* Mohawk *ocinon.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **c'in* 'tick,' Chimariko *cina* 'wood tick.' Pomo: Southeast Pomo *cin.*

Chibchan: Tarascan *šišunta* 'nit.'

• [A173] The relationship between this root and the preceding is unclear.

459 LOUSE$_3$ **ik'^{w}a*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **ihkwa,* Proto-Algonquian **ehkwa.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **ciʔnõ,* Tuscarora *čihkw.* Proto-Siouan **he.*

Penutian: Gulf: Yukian: Huchnom *i:k,* Coast Yuki *ik'e,* Wappo *hiʔ* 'louse (head).' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **uk',* Yucatec *uk,* Huastec *uc.* Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔa:wat.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ač'i, *aHk^{w}i,* Achomawi: Atsugewi *k-ači.* Comecrudo

ak 'black louse.' Karok *ači:č.* Proto-Pomo **ʔahkiñ* 'louse (head), North, Central Pomo *či:*, South Pomo *ači:*. Salinan: San Antonio *t-ik'eʔ*, San Miguel *ike.* Seri *ʔaixak* 'nit.' Shasta *ʔik'ay* 'flea.' Coahuiltecan: Comecrudo *ak.* Subtiaba: Subtiaba *ia:χa*, Tlappanec *yaxa.* Yana: North Yana *ǰi(-na).*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)k^{w}a(h)(ʔ)(n).*

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **k^{w}e-b(V)-(ha)-di.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ʔia.*

• [A174]

460 LUNGS$_1$ **pos*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **p'us* 'lungs, heart.'

Penutian: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **poṣ:ol*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **puš* 'heart, bleed,' Proto-Mayan **pos-poC-*, Proto-Quichean *pospoʔoy.*

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **bosi*, Bari *bosərə.*

461 LUNGS$_2$ **huhu*

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **huhu:.*

Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *hohoʔ nečiʔ* 'lung.'

462 MACAW **maha*

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **maha*, Guahibo *ma:ha*, Guayabero *maha*, Playero *mãha.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **mãhã*, Coreguaje *ma:*, Siona *mã*, Tucano *bãhã.*

463 MAKE$_1$ **taʔ*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *a:t-* (causative). Kutenai *it.* Mosan: Salish: Squamish *ti, taʔ-s.*

Keresiouan: Siouan: Catawba *taʔa.*

Hokan: Salinan: San Miguel *eta* 'make,' *ti:ʔ* 'do,' San Antonio *etaʔ.* Subtiaba *(na-)da.*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Tewa *t'o* 'work.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 43 **ʔta* 'work.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *i-to:itihe* 'he builds.' Carib: Bakairí *itɔ* 'build,' Accawai *idu* 'make.' Witoto: Witoto *tu* 'build.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *ti.* Mataco: Mataco, Vejoz *ti* 'put, place, cause.' Panoan: Panobo *atte* 'work' (n.), Shipibo *tehe* 'work.' Tacanan: Tacana *ti.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo *to.* Ge: Karaho *twü, to* ∼ *ton.*

• [A175]

464 MAKE$_2$ **yu*

Penutian: California: Maidu *ya.* Gulf: Tunica *ya* 'make, do.' Yukian: Yuki *yu* 'do, happen.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 271 **yu* 'make, do.'

Paezan: Itonama *yu-* (causative). Paez *yo.* Cf. Allentiac *yu-tuk* 'work.'

• [A176]

465 MAKE$_3$ **kua*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ka-* (inanimate object), Cree *ke* (inanimate object); Wiyot *ga.*

Keresiouan: Keresan: Santa Ana *kuya* 'do.' Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan **kax*; Yuchi *k'a . . . (kɔ̃)* 'work.'

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptin, Nez Perce *ku* 'do.' California: Maidu *kə* 'make, put.' Gulf: Atakapa *ka.* Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *kah.*

Chibchan: Chibcha [ky]. Cuitlatec *-gɨ* (transitivizer). Misumalpan: Miskito *-ka* (ending for all transitive verbs). Paya *ka:.* Xinca: Yupultepec *ka.*

Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado, Cayapa *ke* 'make,' (derivational element for denominative verbs). Chimu *-ko* (causative). Paez *kɨ.* Timucua *iki-no.*

Andean: Mapudungu *ka.* Leco *kia, kian* 'created.' Sabela: Sabela *kæi* 'do!,' Auca *kæ.* Zaparo *akɨ* 'done.'

Equatorial: Guahibo *xana* 'work.' Maipuran: Toyeri *ekka, ega* 'work.' Zamuco: Tumraha *t-axho* 'work.'

• [A276]

466 MAN$_1$ **ači*

Penutian: California: Wintun *siw-iy* 'male'; Miwok: Plains Miwok *sawwe* 'male.' Gulf: Chitimacha *ʔasi*; Tunica *ši* 'male'; Atakapa *ša, ši* 'male.' Mexican: Huave *na-šey* 'man'; Mayan: Quiché *ačiy.*

Hokan: Achomawi *is* 'person.' Chimariko *iči.* Pomo: Southwest Pomo *ača,* North Pomo *ča,* South Pomo *ačai,* Central Pomo *čač.* Shasta *ʔis* 'person.' Tequistlatec *ašans* 'person.' Yana: North, Central Yana *hisi* 'man, male, husband.'

• [A177]

467 MAN$_2$ **kak*

Hokan: Chumash: Santa Barbara *oxoix,* Santa Ynez *uɣuiɣ.* Coahuilteco *xagu* 'man, male.' Karankawa *ahaks.* Pomo: East Pomo *ka:k^h* 'person, man.'

Andean: Qawasqar *hekaye.* Aymara: Aymara *hake,* Jaqaru *haqi.*

• [A178]

468 MAN$_3$ **ipa*

Penutian: California: Maidu *yep'i,* Wintun: Noema *puewe* 'husband.' Gulf: Atakapa *hipa, ipa* 'husband.'

Equatorial: Arawa: Paumari *baiː* 'penis.' Coche *boya.* Guahibo: Guahibo *pebi,* Churuya *pevi.* Katembri *fofi* 'married man.' Piaroa *uʔbe, ovo.* Proto-Tupi **aba* 'man.' Yuracare *ba* 'husband, to marry.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *boe* 'people.' Caraja *abu.* Chiquito *poː.* Fulnio *efo* 'husband.' Ge: Chavante *ambi,* Chicriaba *amba* 'person.' Kaingang: Dalbergia *mbæ* 'husband.'

• [A179]

469 MAN$_4$ **tama*

Chibchan: Tarascan *tama-pu* 'old man.' Miskito *dama* 'grandfather.'

Paezan: Warrau *idamo* 'old man.'

Macro-Carib: Miranya *thimae,* Motilon *tama* 'boy.'

• [CP138, MC38]

470 MAN$_5$ **loko*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **urqu* 'male (non-human), Yanacocha *oloqo* 'husband,' Quechua *orqo* 'husband,' Ancash *ol^{h}ko,* Cuzqueño *orko,* Mapudungu *alka* 'male.' Qawasqar *arek* 'male.'

Equatorial: Arawak *lukku,* Uro *luku.*

• [AN70, E77]

471 MAN$_6$ **koto*

Penutian: Plateau: Yakima *katla* 'grandmother.' California: Maidu *koto* 'grandmother.' Zuni *hotta* 'grandmother.'

Andean: Iquito *kati* 'father,' Sechura *kuč* 'father,' Itucale *kiča* 'father,' Hivito *kotk* 'father.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *kohti* 'husband,' Gamella *katu,* Curiariai *xot* 'person.'

• [P92, AN35, MT61]

472 MAN$_7$ **mano*

Almosan: Algonquian: Blackfoot *no-ma* 'husband.' Salish: Bella Coola *man* 'father,' Proto-Coast Salish **man* ∼ **mənа* 'father, child,' Pentlatch *mān* 'father,' Squamish *man* 'father.'

Penutian: Oregon: Coos *ma* 'person,' Kalapuya *menami* 'person,' Takelma *ma-* 'father,' Maidu: Nisenan *manai* 'boy,' Costanoan: Rumsien *ama* 'person.'

Hokan: Chumash *s-mano* ∼ *ɬ-mano.* Proto-Yuman **maːy* 'man, male.' Yu-

rumangui *ma:* 'father.'

Paezan: Ayoman *ayoman* 'husband,' Warrao *moana* 'people.'

Andean: Iquito *komano* 'father,' Yahgan *imun-* 'father,' *yamana* 'person.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Yahuna *meni* 'boy,' *manehẽ* 'husband,' Yupua *manapo̊* 'husband,' Yuyuka *yemane* 'husband,' Coto *ömuna* 'man,' Proto-Nambikwara **mĩ̄n* 'father,' Kaliana *mĩnõ* 'man, person,' *imone* 'father-in-law,' Wanana *meno* 'man,' *manino* 'her husband,' Desana *emenge,* Chiranga *imĩgno,* Waikina *emeno.* Puinave *mbon.*

Equatorial: Guahibo *amona* 'husband,' *itsa-mone* 'person,' Uro: Callahuaya *mana* 'person,' Achual *aišman* 'man,' Marawan *maki-b-mani* 'boy' (a combination of this root and CHILD$_2$ *mako*), Chamicuro *θamoni* 'my father,' Manao *re-manao* 'person,' Proto-Tupi **men* 'husband,' Guarani *mena* 'husband,' Guajajara *man* 'husband,' Otomaco: Taparita *mayna* 'man.'

Macro-Carib: Apiaca *moni* 'boy,' Ocaina *mo:n* 'father,' Paravithana *mei-moen* 'son,' Miranya *itse-meni* 'son,' Yagua *ma:y* 'person (non-Indian).'

Macro-Panoan: Moseten *moinči* 'person,' Charrua *itoyman* 'boy,' Guana *emmanabie* 'man.'

Macro-Ge: Cayapo *män* 'person,' *miän* 'husband,' Chicriaba *aimaman* 'boy,' *mamaŋ* 'father,' Coroado *kuoyman* 'man,' Kaingang *-mɛn* 'man.'

• [A154] This root is also found in Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Dene-Caucasian, Nahali, Miao-Yao, and Indo-Pacific (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

473 MANY$_1$ **ali*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **aliw-* 'much.'

Penutian: Proto-Kalapuyan **haliw.*

Paezan: Timucua *ara* 'much, many.'

Andean: Mapudungu *alɨ* 'much.' Mayna *alema.* Quechuan: Ecuadorean *yali,* Junin-Huanca *ali.* Yamana: Yahgan *yela.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Galibi *ali* 'fill,' Cumanogoto *ar* 'fill,' Chayma *ara* 'fill,' Trio *arɨ* 'contents,' Arara *t-ori-g* 'many,' Pauishana *t-ure-eke* 'many.' Witoto: Witoto *orui* 'be full,' Miranya Carapana Tapuya *rahu* 'many.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umotina *uri.* Botocudo *uruhu.* Ge: Chicriaba *eruhu.*

• [A180] Cf. LONG$_1$ *ali.*

474 MANY$_2$ **til* ~ **tan*

Almosan: Proto-Chimakuan **tila* 'full, heavy.'

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *-ti:l* 'all.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **tan,* Achomawi *to:lol* 'all.' Chumash: Santa Cruz *talakeč* 'much.' Salinan: San Antonio *k-i:sileʔ* 'all.' Tequistlatec *dalay* 'very much.' Tonkawa *-tana-* 'all.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **ta(h)(ʔ)n* 'fill, full, put in.'
Paezan: Barbacoan: Cayapa *tun.* Chimu *tuni.*
• [A181]

475 MANY$_3$ **moni*

Penutian: Plateau: Lutuami *moːni-s* 'large.' California: Yokuts *mone* 'much.' Gulf: Atakapa *mon* ∼ *maŋ* 'all,' Proto-North Yuki **mun* 'many,' Wappo *mul* 'all,' Yuki *muna* 'all,' Clear Lake *mol* 'all.'
Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca *bini.* Cuna *pule, pelo* 'all.' Malibu: Chimila *muni* 'abound.' Misumalpan: Miskito *bani* 'each.' Rama *bain.* Tarascan *vini-ni* 'be full.' Yanoama: Yanomam, Yanomamï *prəwa* 'large.' Rama *baiŋi* 'much.'
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *man.* Chimu: Eten *men* 'to swell.' Choco: Catio *bari* 'grow.' Itonama *amaniato.* Paez: Guambiana *minu.* Timucua *mine* 'large.'
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *moin'* 'be full (a vessel).'
• [A182]

476 MANY$_4$ **pu*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Takelma-Kalapuyan **-puːʔ* 'full,' Proto-Kalapuyan **pu . . .* 'all.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **-pɨʔ* 'all.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pu* 'all,' Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **p^{h}ɨ* 'all,' Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **p^{h}V* 'all,' Subtiaba *bā* 'all.' Waicuri *pu* 'all.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pu* 'full.'
Paezan: Millcayac *pay* 'full.' Timucua *-pu-k^{w}a* 'much, many.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **bui* 'full,' **pai-yɨ/he* 'many.'
Equatorial: Cofan *bu,* Piaroa *buio* 'large,' Sanamaika *pui* 'large.'
• [H2, E79]

477 MANY$_5$ **pote* ∼ **peti*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **aːhpeči* 'completely.' Proto-Salish **put* 'sufficient, very, right, exact.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ʔIp'et'Vː* 'much,very.'
Chibchan: Yanomam *pɨtɨ* 'full.'
Andean: Mapudungu *pɨčɨ* 'much.'
Equatorial: Coche *buca* 'large,' Kariri *pečo,* Yuracare *puče* 'surpass.'
Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pota* 'all,' Caraja *ibote* 'all,' Masacara *pautzöh* 'all.'
• [E78, MG1]

478 MANY$_6$ **lok'*

Almosan: Mosan: Salish: Proto-Coast Salish **lək'* 'full, fill.'
Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **ʔɨlaχ* 'much.' California: Proto-Maiduan

**lok'* 'many.'

479 MASCULINE/FEMININE **t/*s*

Macro-Panoan: Moseten *-t* (masculine), *-s* (feminine), Mascoy *ya-t* 'he,' *ya-m* 'she.'

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *-sa* (feminine; masculine is unmarked), Chiquito *-tiː* (masculine; non-masculine is unmarked), Aweikoma *ti* 'he,' *si* 'she,' Caraja *ti* 'he,' *ti-ki* 'she.'

• [G38]

480 MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL **i/*u/*a*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *can-uːk-s* 'young child,' *cin* 'young man.' Salish: Flathead *sín-ceʔ* 'younger brother (man speaking),' *tún-š* 'sister's children.' Kutenai *tsu* 'sister (of a girl),' *tsiya* 'younger brother.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **yí̄-ki* 'son,' **yū́-ki* 'daughter,' **thū́-wi* 'paternal aunt' Assiniboine *cĩ-k-ši* 'son,' *cũ-k-ši* 'daughter.' Iroquoian: Mohawk *-ʔtsin* 'boy, male,' *a-thũ-wisə̃* 'woman.'

Penutian: Chinook: Lower Chinook *eː-* ∼ *i-* 'masculine sg. prefix,' *oː-* 'feminine sg. prefix.' Gulf: Tunica *šiː* 'male,' *htóna-yi* 'wife.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *ïts* 'younger brother,' *uts* 'younger sister.'

Hokan: Pomo: Eastern Pomo *tsets* 'mother's brother,' *tuts* 'mother's older sister,' Washo *wi-ts'u-k* 'younger sister,' *t'anu* 'person.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tana* 'son, daughter,' **sun* ∼ **son* 'woman,' Tübatulabal *tena* 'man,' *u-tsu* 'maternal grandmother.' Tanoan: Tewa *seːŋ* 'man, male,' *sũn-tsi* 'intimate friend, chum.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **sehn* 'male,' **suhn* 'female,' **ʔntan* 'child,' **taʔn* 'sibling.'

Andean: Tehuelche *den* 'brother,' *thaun* 'sister.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *atina* 'male relative,' *atuna* 'female relative,' Tucanoan: Waikana *baĩ(-ga)* 'brother,' *baũ(-ga)* 'sister,' Tucano *pakk-e* 'father,' *pakk-o* 'mother,' *nik-e* 'one (masc.), *nik-o* 'one (fem.),' *nik-a* 'one (neutral),' Coreguaje *čĩiɨ* 'son,' *čĩio* 'daughter,' *aʔ-čɨ* 'elder brother,' *aʔ-čo* 'elder sister,' *čoʔ-yeɨ* 'younger brother,' *čoʔ-yeo* 'younger sister.' Pioje *-kĩ* (masc.), *-kõ* (fem.; cf. *-ku* ∼ *-ko* ∼ *-kõ* 'this [fem.]'). Puinave: Tiquie *ten* 'son,' *ton* 'daughter,' Papury *ten* 'son,' *toŋ* 'daughter,' *-yi* (masc. of animals), Puinave *nau-ne* 'he is handsome,' *nau-yu* 'she is pretty,' Ubde-Nehern *nep* 'that (masc.),' *nip* ∼ *nap* 'that (fem.)'

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **i/*u* 'he, his/she,her,' Wapishana *i/u* 'he/she,' *iĩ-dan(e)* 'child, son, daughter,' *i-dĭni-re* 'son-in-law,' *i-dĭni-ru* 'daughter-in-law,' Ipurina *ni-tari* 'my brother,' *ni-taru* 'my sister,' Baniva (Içana) *ri/ru* 'he/she,' Palicur *amepi-yo* 'female thief,' *amepi-ye* 'male thief,' Tariana *nu-phe-ri* 'my elder brother,' *nu-phe-ru* 'my elder sister.' Arawakan: Arawa *i-* (masculine, but *-ni* is feminine); Jivaro *hiči* 'grandfather,' *hiča*

'grandmother'; Otomaco *duriri* 'son,' *daore* 'daughter,' Zamuco *-iz* (masculine sg. subject of a verb in the recent past tense), *-az* (feminine sg. subject), *-tie* (genitive of masc. nouns), *-tae* (genitive of feminine nouns), Timote *ka(s)-* (masc. article), *ku-s* (feminine article; the masculine form is deviant, but a masculine variant, *kiu-*, is found in *kiu-kšoy* 'boy, uncle'), Mocochi *tin-gua* 'son, boy,' *nak-tun* 'woman.' Guahibo *-ni* (masc.), *-wa* (fem.), Saliba *-ndi* (masc.), *-ku* (fem.)

• [G39, Ruhlen 1994f] Greenberg pointed out the masculine and feminine grades of this gender system for Macro-Tucanoan and Equatorial. Ruhlen showed that (1) there is a third grade based on *-a-* that is neutral with respect to sex, (2) traces of this gender system are found in all 13 branches of Amerind, and (3) the intersection of this gender system with the Amerind root **t'Vna* is abundantly attested in Amerind kinship terms in the forms **t'ina/*t'ana/*t'una* 'son, brother/child, sibling/daughter, sister.' In this etymology I have only cited individual languages (or proto-languages) which exhibit *two* or *three* grades of the Amerind gender ablaut system. Were I to cite languages which have only one grade of the root, the number of forms would increase dramatically. See SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER below.

481 MEAT$_1$ **lau*

Andean: Mapudungu: Pehuenche *ilo.* Cahuapana: Jebero *-luʔ* 'flesh.'

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba *lo* 'domestic animal.' Lengua: Mascoy *lau* (classifier for animals in possessive construction). Lule *lo-p* 'meat.' Mataco: Mataco, Chulupi *lau* 'animal,' *-la-* (possessive classifier for animals).

• [A183]

482 MEAT$_2$ **nena*

Macro-Tucanoan: Huari: Masaka *ny(i)æ* 'meat.' Movima *nono* 'domesticated animal.' Nambikwara: Southern Nambikwara *nun'* 'animal.' Puinave: Ubde-Nehern *hun* 'animal.' Ticuna *ʔüne* 'body.' Tucano: Cubeo *neo, neau* 'fat' (n.) Yuri *nai* 'meat.'

Equatorial: Cayuvava *ine.* Chapacura: Urupa *uenen.* Cofan *na.* Maipuran: Wapishana *nana* 'edible,' Piapoco *naina,* Jumana *nina.* Piaroa *añe* 'fat' (n.) Tupi: Mekens *ñena,* Kepkiriwate *o-ñon,* Guarategaja *ki-ñena.* Yaruro *ñaː* 'fat' (n.)

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *añe.* Proto-Ge **ñĩ.* Kaingang: Palmas *ni,* Tibagi *nin,* etc. Mashakali *ñĩñ.* Puri: Coroado *eneine.*

• [A184]

483 MEAT$_3$ **mati*

Hokan: Achomawi *misuc.* Comecrudo *met* 'body.' Esselen *amisah* 'deer.' Jicaque *buisis, pus* 'deer.' Pomo: Kashaya *bihše,* East Pomo *biːše* 'meat,

deer.' Salinan: San Antonio, San Miguel *maṭ*^{h}. Seri *ipxasi, ipxaš* (pl.) Subtiaba: Tlappanec *uwiʔi*. Tonkawa *ʔawas*. Yana: North Yana *basi* 'meat, body,' Yahi *bahsi*. Yuman: Diegueño *ematt*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 125 **mas* 'deer.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Kaliana *mica*. Maku *munči, muči*. Ticuna *mači*.

• [A185]

484 MEAT$_4$ **ati*

Macro-Carib: Andoke *icü*. Carib: Hishcariana *otɨ*, Wayana *i-ote* 'game,' Waiwai *-oti* (possessive classifier for meat). Witoto: Witoto *ičira*, Muinane *uatɨ*.

Macro-Ge: Caraja *adi*. Fulnio *dae*. Guato *(ma-)deu*. Kaingang: Tibagi *de, da* 'animal.' Kamakan *dau* 'animal.'

• [A186]

485 MEAT$_5$ **wak'i*

Almosan: Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan **w'aq* 'feed a visitor,' Heiltsuk *w'aq'ut* 'feed a visitor.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **wak'* 'flesh.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **waʔi*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **waʔi-bɨkɨ-zi*.

486 MEAT$_6$ **tin*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **šĩ* 'fat.' Iroquoian: Seneca *sẽ* 'be fat.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *čin*, Came *tini*.

• [AK65, MG78]

487 MEAT$_7$ **nak*

Almosan: Mosan: Salish: Nisqualli *nqʔ* 'animal.' Kutenai *ɬak* (*ɬ* < *n*).

Macro-Panoan: Huarayo *noči*, Pilaga *niːak* 'fish,' Lengua *nohak* 'wild animal.'

• [AK124,MP44]

488 MEDICINE **t'oyo*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **t'uyox*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **coy*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Keresan **č'ayaːni* 'medicine man.'

489 MOON$_1$ **p'ot*

Almosan: Almosan: Proto-Chemakuan **pit'-* ∼ **p'it-* ∼ **p'ik*^{w}*i-* 'moon, sun, light, sky.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **paː.*
Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **ʔop^h* 'moon, sun,' Proto-Maiduan **pok'* 'moon, sun, luminary.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **poyʔa* 'moon, month.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **p'o.*
Macro-Carib: Andoke *pody.* Witoto: Ocaina *fodyoːme, podomo.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **badi.*
Macro-Ge: Erikbatsa *boto.* Ge: Cayapo *putua,* Apinage *putwaru,* etc.
• [A187]

490 MOON$_2$ **tamp*

Chibchan: Aruak: Bintucua *tima* 'moon, month.' Chibcha: Tunebo *sibuara.* Motilon *tubi.* Talamanca: Borunca *tabe, tebe,* Cabecar *sibo.* Cf. Antioquia: Nutabe *tebu-na* 'night.'
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *cabo* 'star.' Chimu: Eten *sam, šiam* 'sun.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *ataʔp, ata(m).* Kaliana *tabu, tapo.* Puinave: Curiariai *tamẽ* 'star.' Ticuna *tawö-make* (literally 'sun pale'). Uman *t^{h}upañe.*
Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *tapuix* 'moon (waxing).'
Macro-Carib: Crishana *tepare.*
• [A188]

491 MOON$_3$ **nunta*

Keresiouan: Siouan: Catawba *nunti* 'sun, moon.' Iroquoian: Cherokee *nãto* 'sun, moon.'
Equatorial: Achuar *nantu.*
Macro-Carib: Bora *nuʔpa.* Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **nuːnaʔ,* Pianocoto, Uaiboi, Pavishana, Uaica, Bakairi *nuna,* Yao *nona,* Paraviyana *none,* Palmela *ñuña,* Waiwai *nune,* Galibi, Acawai *nuno,* Rucuyene *nunu.*
• [AK126, MC42]

492 MOON$_4$ **q'ala*

Penutian: California **kolme,* Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **ko(l)me* 'moon, month.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q'ara,* Proto-Pomo **q'alaː(xa),* Proto-Yuman **halaʔa.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **kiʎa,* Mapudungu *ale.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara *hʔeləˑ.*
Macro-Carib: Yagua *harimyuni.*
Macro-Panoan: Ashluslay *huela,* Chorote *huelɛ,* Vejoz *ihuälä,* Nocten *iguelɛ,* Mataco *ihuɛlɛ.*
Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umutina *aːliː,* Bororo, Orari, Otuke *ari.*

493 MONKEY$_1$ **kuki*

Chibchan: Rama *kiaki.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Hubde *kog* 'howler monkey.'
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kuhdi*, Campa *kočiro*; Uro *kusiʎo*.
Macro-Ge: Patasho *kuki*, Proto-Ge **kukəz*.
• [E80, MG79]

494 MONKEY$_2$ **cawi*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **caːwi*.
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **śawi*.

495 MORNING **qaya*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **ɢaʔ-* 'early morning.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **gaːyu*.
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a)x^{y}aʔ*, Proto-Pomo **q^{h}aʔːa* 'morning, dawn.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *qaya* ∼ *quya*.

496 MOSQUITO$_1$ **puro*

Paezan: Aruak: Bintucua *bun* 'wasp.' Chibcha: Tunebo, Manare *ipare* 'wasp.' Cuna *pulu* 'wasp.' Rama: Guatuso *poro* 'wasp.' Talamanca: Tirub *woro* 'wasp.' Cf. Xinca: Chiquimulilla *hurux* 'wasp.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Kaliana *pələ*. Maku *mbule* 'pium.' Puinave *pəlod* 'pium.'
Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pitaŋ*, *pötã*. Caraja *badi*, *bedi* 'bee.' Ge: Apinage *puræ*. Puri: Coroado *putaŋ* 'bee.' Yabuti *porunka*.
• [A189]

497 MOSQUITO$_2$ **č'oyu*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **sč'uy'uːna*.
Penutian: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **šoyːu*.

498 MOTHER **tati*

Hokan: Yavapai *titi*, Achomawi *tat^{h}i*, Karok *tat*, Seri *ʔita*.
Equatorial: Cayuvava *tætæ* 'grandmother.' Bare *čeče* 'grandmother,' Chapacura *čiči* 'grandmother,' Uro *ačiči* 'grandmother.'
• [H100, E51]

499 MOTHER/AUNT **nana*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *naʔa*, Gros Ventre *-inã*.
Keresiouan: Caddoan: Caddo *ʔi-naʔ* 'my mother,' Wichita *(ati-)naʔ* 'my mother.' Iroquoian: Huron *anan* 'aunt.' Siouan: Ofo *õni* 'aunt,' Tutelo *ina* 'aunt,' Osage *ina* 'aunt.'
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **naːna*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan **nan-*, Proto-Mixe-Zoque **nana*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 350 **(n)(ʔ)na(h)(n)* 'mother, woman,' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **nana.*

Chibchan: Tarascan *nanti.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *anaiʔo* 'aunt,' Catuquina *inai* 'aunt,' Kaliana *ĩnoĩ* 'grandmother.' Maku *nõ* 'mother, aunt.' Nambikwara: Sabane *nau*, Mamainde *nat.* Puinave: Puinave *aiña* 'aunt,' Querari *nã.* Ticuna *ngeʔe, niai* 'woman.' Cf. Movima *-ne* ∼ *-ni* (feminine affix).

Equatorial: Guahibo *ena.* Kariri *aña* 'aunt,' Kandoshi *aniari.* Saliba *nana.*

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Macca *nana.* Proto-Tacanan **nene* 'aunt,' Vilela *nana* 'aunt,' *nane.*

• [A14] This root is also found in Nilo-Saharan, Eurasiatic, Kartvelian, Caucasian, and Austronesian (Ruhlen 2006).

500 MOTHER/OLDER FEMALE RELATIVE **aya*

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptin *áyaD* 'woman,' Nez Perce *ʔayat* 'mother.' Gulf: Tunica *-áhaya* 'mother's sister,' Muskogean: Choctaw *ihayya* 'sister-in-law.' Mexican: Mayan: Tzotzil *yaya* 'grandmother,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔohya* '(woman's) sister-in-law.'

Hokan: Washo *-ya* 'paternal aunt,' Quinigua *ʔyaːk* 'mother,' Tonkawa *ʔeyan* 'woman's sister.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Tewa *yia* 'mother.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **ya* 'female.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ye* 'mother,' **ya* 'aunt,' Tarahumara *iye* 'mother,' Yaqui *ʔaiye* 'mother,' Nahua *-yeʔ* 'mother.'

Chibchan: Xinca *aya* 'woman,' Matagalpa *yoaya* 'mother,' Cuna *yaː-kwa* 'young woman,' Yanomam *ya-* 'father's sister, father's mother.'

Paezan: Colorado *aya* 'mother.'

Andean: Ona *yoy* 'grandmother,' Auca *-yæ̃yæ̃* 'mother.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Amaguaje *ayo* 'old woman,' Masaka *yaya* 'older sister,' Ticuna *yake* 'old woman.'

Equatorial: Mapidiana *aya* 'aunt,' Tora *iye* 'paternal grandmother,' Arikem *haya* 'aunt,' Pakaasnovos *yeoʔ* 'paternal grandmother, grandfather.'

Macro-Carib: Accawai *aya* 'mother.'

Macro-Panoan: Mayoruna *yaya* 'mother,' Shipibo *yaya* 'paternal aunt,' Moseten *eye* 'grandmother,' *yaya* 'mother-in-law.' Proto-Tacanan **yana* 'younger sister, sister-in-law.'

Macro-Ge: Coropo *ayan* 'mother,' Coroado *ayan* 'mother,' Palmas *yã* 'mother.'

• This root is also found in Khoisan, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Burushaski, Indo-Pacific, Nahali, Austroasiatic, Miao-Yao, Daic, and Austronesian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

501 MOUNTAIN **way*

Hokan: Comecrudo *way,* Cocopa *wi* 'mountain, rock.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Kaliana *ũaĩkũ,* Maku *wike.*
• [H101, MT65]

502 MOUSE$_1$ **kus*

Chibchan: Chibchan: Boncota *kuaixea* 'bat.' Guaymi: Chumulu *guik* 'bat,' Gualaca *guiga* 'bat.' Lenca: Guajiquero *gyiza* 'bat.' Xinca: Yupultepec *küsse* 'bat.'
Paezan: Paez [quize] 'bat.'
Andean: Quechua: Yanacocha *ukuš.* Zaparo *kaširikia.*
• [A190]

503 MOUSE$_2$ **maqa*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **maqa* ∼ **maqil^y* 'rat,' Proto-Yuman **ʔmakey.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **maka* 'mouse, rat,' Moseten *meče* 'rat.'
• [MP47]

504 MOUSE$_3$ **p'osa*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **p'usaL.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **posa.*
Paezan: Choco: Darien, Empera (Basurudo) *posãi,* Catio, Chami, Tado *bosãi,* Saija *po(r)osãi.*

505 MOUSE$_4$ **c'ok*

Almosan: Kutenai *ʔincoːkʔ.*
Penutian: Zuni *cʔokɬi-kʔo.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan **č'oː(ʔ)h* 'rat,' Proto-Quichean **č'oh* 'mouse, rat,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **cuːk.*
Chibchan: Rama *suk.*

506 MOUSE$_5$ **pik*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **aːpikwa* ∼ **waːpikw-.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **biʔi,* Tucano, Wanana, Desana *biʔi,* Tanimuca *beʔi-a.*

507 MOUTH$_1$ **yaq'*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **yaq-* 'talk (v.),' Kwakwala *yaq'-gaʔɬ* 'begin to speak, utter something,' Heiltsuk *yaq'gaɬ* 'begin to speak, utter something.'
Keresiouan: Siouan: Dakota *oyák'a* 'tell, relate.'
Penutian: Maidu: Maidu *yawí* 'call by name,' *yaky* 'be named,' Nisenan *yawi* 'call, name.' Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *yeyːa* 'call,' *yayːu* 'demand,' Lake Miwok *yayːu* 'invite, call for.' Gulf: Wappo *yawe* 'name.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ya(ː)* 'speak,' Washo *yaːm* 'tell.' Karok *yaːyáːhi* 'stutter.' Subtiaba: Subtiaba *d-aːuː*, Tlappanec *r-aũʔ*. Yuman: Maricopa *ʔiya*, Cocopa *iya*, Yavapai *yaʔ*, Akwa'ala *ya*. Yurumangui *yo(-ima)* 'saliva' (*ima* = 'water').

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ya* 'say,' Cahuilla *yá* 'say,' Cupeño *ya* 'say,' Hopi *ʔayá(-ta)* 'tell,' Luiseño *ya-* 'say.'

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **ya* 'say.'

Andean: Mapudungu: Pehuenche [ghuy] 'name' (n.) Leco *ya* 'say.' Patagon: Patagon *yew-en* 'call,' Tehuelche *yo* 'call,' *yon* 'name' (n.) Yamana *yi, ya* 'say.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *iaʔa*. Proto-Nambikwara **youː*. Yuri *ia*.

Equatorial: Otomaco *yo*. Yaruro *yaoː*.

Macro-Panoan: Lule *ye* 'say.' Moseten *yi* 'tell.' Proto-Panoan **yoʔi* 'say.'

• [A191]

508 MOUTH$_2$ **kua*

Macro-Carib: Bora: Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *ma-ɣyo*, Faai *me-kuai* 'chin,' Imihita *(meːx-)kaː* 'beard.' Witoto: Witoto *(ama-)əko* 'beard,' Coeruna *koæ*, Orejon *hoe*.

Macro-Panoan: Charruan: Charrua *ex*, Chana *hek*. Guaicuru: Toba *ka* 'lip, chin,' Mbaya *aka* 'chin,' Mocovi *aka* 'chin, beard.' Lule *ka*. Mataco: Choroti *ak* 'chin,' Nocten *kax*. Proto-Panoan **k^{w}ɨša* 'lip, mouth, border,' **koi* 'chin, jaw,' Cashinahua *kə-*, *kəš-* 'mouth, border,' Cashibo *kwə-* 'mouth,' Chacobo *kə-* 'lips, border' (all instrumental prefixes). Proto-Tacanan **kwaca*, Tacana *ekeke* 'lip.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo *ogwa* 'lip, mouth.' Botocudo *d^{y}akie* 'chin.' Caraja *zuːka* 'lip.' Fulnio *d^{y}uči*. Ge: Apinage *yakoa, akwa*, Krenje *aykwa*, Suya *yako* 'chin.' Kaingang: Came *yenku*, Catarina *ñaky*. Kamakan: Meniens *yego* 'beard.' Mashakali *ñikoi*. Opaie *e-ka*. (Many forms have a prefix *ya-* or the like.)

• [A192]

509 MOUTH$_3$ **kala*

Hokan: Karok *-kara* 'into the mouth,' Tonkawa *kala*.

Andean: Leco *kollo*, Sechura *bo-korua*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *kuana*, Huari *kan* 'beak.'

• [H102, AN75, MT67]

510 MOUTH$_4$ **čik*

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **čiːʔ*.

Paezan: Barbacoan: [language?] *ćik*.

511 NAME (v.)$_1$ *d^laq

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *d^lyq-* 'to name, to call somebody something.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **ʎak^{y}i* 'name (n.)'
Penutian: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **lakat.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *eɬaʔus.*

512 NAME (v.)$_2$ **ya*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *yaθ.* Siouan: Biloxi *yačɛ* 'name (n.)'
Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **ya(:)* 'name (n.),' Proto-Yokuts **hoyo:.* Gulf: Proto-Yuki **yəw,* Wappo *yao.*
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *yiyi.*

513 NARROW **cian*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *syã-n* 'small.' Proto-Oto-Manguean R 258 **(Y)(n)(H)si(ʔ)(n)* 'small.'
Chibchan: Talamanca: Estrella *cine-kra* 'small,' Cabecar *cina-ra* 'small.'
Paezan: Chimu: Eten *šanku.* Warrau *sanuk* 'narrow, small.'
• [A193]

514 NAVEL **tompa*

Macro-Tucanoan: Huari: Huari, Masaka *tapa* 'belly.' Movima *dimmo-.* Puinave: Curiariai *te(e)ba* 'umbilical cord,' Hubde *tööm,* Yehubde *toptep* 'guts,' Puinave *ok-tep* 'guts.' Tucano: Curetu *to:mu-kö,* Wanana *comea,* Coto *tapwi,* Amaguaje *tapue* 'belly.' Yuri *to:bi.*
Equatorial: Arawa: Yamamadi *æ-thubori.* Cofan *t^{h}oʔpa* 'belly.' Guamo *tife* 'heart.' Jivaro: Zamora *atape* 'heart.' Maipuran: Wapishana *tuba* 'belly,' Atoroi *tub* 'belly,' Baniva *čiabo* 'belly.' Trumai *taf, töf.*
• [A194]

515 NEAR **kama*

Penutian: Chinook *-gəm-* (verb prefix). Oregon: Siuslaw *xumš* 'approach.' Cf. Plateau: Nez Perce *kimtam.* California: Yokuts *ʔamac* 'approach'; Costanoan: Rumsien *hamatka,* Santa Clara *amatka.*
Andean: Leco *kam* 'for, toward.' Patagon: Ona *kammai* 'as far as.' Quechua *-kama* 'as far as, up to, close to.' Zaparo *kame* 'hither.'
• [A195]

516 NECK$_1$ **k'u*

Penutian: California: Maidu **k'uyi.* Gulf: Atakapa *koʔi* 'neck, throat,' Chitimacha *k'e.*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *k'o-l,* Taos *k'əo-,* San Ildefonso *k'e,* Isleta *k'oa,* etc. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 125 **ka(n)* 'neck, throat.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 303b **ku.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Otuke *ikio.* Kamakan: Meniens *inkio.*

• [A196]

517 NECK$_2$ **aru*

Andean: Lupaca *aru* 'voice, speech,' Culli *uro.*

Equatorial: Toyeri *ari* 'throat,' Proto-Tupi **ayur* 'throat.'

• [AN77, E115]

518 NECK$_3$ **gwaka*

Almosan: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **-hkweːka-ni,* Kutenai *-ōkak.*

Chibchan: Chibcha *guikin.*

Paezan: Andaqui *san-guaka.*

• [AK137, CP129]

519 NECK$_4$ **pak*

Hokan: Chumash *paktamus,* Seri *k-iphk* 'hang on neck,' Tlappanec *apuh.*

Paezan: Itonama *pakas-* 'front of . . . ,' Gayon *apaxiguo.*

• [H105, CP130]

520 NEGATIVE **kua*

Hokan: Jicaque *kua*; Yuman: Cocopa *k-* (privitive); Salinan *k* + POSSESSIVE MARKER + VERB; Pomo: East Pomo *kuyi* 'no,' *k^{h}u* 'not'; Yana *kuː-*; Karok *-k*; Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *axam* 'not,' Comecrudo *kam* 'not,' Karankawa *kom* 'not.' Yurumangui *k(a)-.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Miller, No. 306) **ka(i)*; Proto-Oto-Manguean **ku.*

Macro-Ge: Ge: Cayapo *ked*; Bororo *ka,* Caraja *ko(ŋ),* Guato *egu,* Kamakan *ki.*

• [G100]

521 NEW$_1$ **at'e*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **aceːʔ.* ?Proto-Keresan **naːceː.*

Penutian: California: Maidu *di* 'young,' Costanoan: Monterey *iːti.* Mexican: Mayan: Huastec *it.*

Hokan: Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **ac'a.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)(ʔ)te(n)* 'ripe, cooked.' Proto-Tanoan **c'V* 'new,' **ce* 'ripe, cooked,' San Juan *ci* 'be cooked,' Kiowa *ta*

'be ripe, cooked.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *çi(ña).*

• [P168, CA63]

522 NEW$_2$ **c'um*

Almosan: Kutenai *-suʔk-neː* 'good.' Proto-Mosan **c'u-*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'x-.*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **su-*, Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **suː* 'good.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **C'um* 'good.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **c'V.*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *śɨ*, Totoro *śɨʔik.* Proto-Choco **čiwidi.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **suma-* 'good.'

Equatorial: Kamsa *tsɨ́m.*

523 NEW$_3$ **peɬa*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **paɬa-meɬkwa* 'young-beaver.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **pi* 'good.'

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **pa(n)ɬa,* Takelma *pala-w.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **PeLa,* Comecrudo *pele(x)* 'new, good,' Karankawa *pla* 'good, nice, useful.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pe.*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **pia* 'good.'

Andean: ?Yamana *wɑlič* 'good.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *polara.* Iranshe *p^{y}ulari* 'young, unripe.'

524 NIGHT$_1$ **yama*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *mʔay* 'shadow.' California: Maidu *yamayi* 'shadow.' Gulf: Natchez *mayuk* 'dark, night.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *aːma* 'shadow.' Itonama *yumani.* Mura: Matanawi *yamãru.* Paez: Guambiana *yem.* Warrau *ima.*

Macro-Panoan: Moseten *yomoi* 'become night.' Proto-Panoan **yamï.*

• [A197] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Kartvelian (Ruhlen 1994g).

525 NIGHT$_2$ **mok*

Penutian: Plateau: Molala *muka* 'night.' Gulf: Muskogean: Hitchiti *močusta* 'get dark,' Creek *yomuške* 'dark.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sayula *amuxik* 'shadow'; Mayan: Quiché *mux* 'shadow,' Kekchí *mux* 'become cloudy.'

Hokan: Achomawi *mahiksa.* Chimariko *hi-mokni, hi-mok* 'evening.' Salinan: San Antonio *smak^{h}ai.* Seri *iʔamok.*

• [A198]

526 NIGHT$_3$ **pasi* ∼ **sepi*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-sipi* 'during the night.' Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *ši:p.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **bɨši* 'be dark'. Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan **sepi,* Biloxi *psi,* Ofo *upofi* (*f* < **s*), Osage *opathe* 'evening'; Yuchi *ispi.*

Hokan: Comecrudo *patotiau.* Jicaque *puiste.* Salinan: San Antonio *mašitama* 'shadow.' Subtiaba: Tlappanec *miša* 'shadow.' Yana: Central, North Yana *basiː,* Yahi *bahsi.*

• [A199]

527 NIGHT$_4$ **kači*

Chibchan: Antioquia: Nutabe *ma-kasa* 'early morning.' Lenca: Chilanga *k'us-k'ašba* 'night.' Paya *keča* 'yesterday.'

Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa *kisi* ∼ *kiši* 'yesterday,' Colorado *kisi* 'yesterday.' Paez: Paez *kos* 'night,' Panikita *kuskaya* 'yesterday.' Warrau *kahe* 'yesterday.'

Equatorial: Cofan *kose, kuse.* Jivaro: Aguaruna, Zamora, Shuara *kaši.* Timote: Mocochi *kisi.*

• [A200]

528 NOMINAL SUFFIX **-na*

Penutian: California: Maidu *-n,* Yokuts *-n.* Gulf: Atakapa *-en.*

Hokan: Yurumangui *-na* (general noun formant), Esselen *-nex, -no* (general noun formant), Tonkawa *-n* (infinitive verb suffix and general noun suffix); Pomo: Southeast Pomo *-n* (absolutive suffix that forms nouns from verbs).

Chibchan: Tarascan *-ni.*

Paezan: Itonama *-na* ∼ *-ne*; Barbacoan: Cayapa *-nu*; Timucua *-ni.*

Andean: Patagon: Ona, Tehuelche *-n*; Mapudungu *-n*; Quechua *-na*; Zaparoan: Zaparo *-no,* Andoa *-nu.*

• [G 61] The South American forms are basically infinitive markers. In Hokan the suffix shows the characteristics of a stage III article, which often—because of their function as a general marker of nominality—forms verbal nouns. Historically, then, the Hokan forms may not be related to forms from other branches of Amerind. In Penutian the suffix forms infinitives and verbal nouns.

529 NOSE$_1$ **nus* ∼ **nis*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **nis,* Proto-Salish **nis* 'blow one's nose.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-ʔnyõːs-.*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **nuːšnu-.*

Andean: Qawasqar *nos.* Aymara *nasa.*
Equatorial: Achuar *nuhĩ* 'nose.'
Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Mocovi *niːh.* Lule *nus.* Mataco: Choroti *nus.* Vilela *nihim.* Vejoz *not-nisinäx* 'smell (v.)'
Macro-Ge: Kamakan: Cotoxo *nihieko.* Mashakali: Mashakali *nicikoe,* Capoxo, Kumanasho *nišikoi,* etc.
• [A201]

530 NOSE$_2$ **asi*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan **-os.*
Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *siʔ* 'smell (intransitive),' *siːht* 'smell (intransitive),' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ʔisi* 'smell (v.), rotten.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **suːʔk* 'smell (v.)'
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **sahka* 'smelly, rotten.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **si(ʔ).*
Chibchan: Cuna *asu.*
Paezan: Paez *asa* 'stink,' Warrau *aha* 'smell.'
Andean: Itucale *asi* 'smell,' Patagon *os* 'smell,' Quechua *asia* 'stink.'
• [CP133, AN106]

531 NOSE$_3$ **ɬin*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **ɬnt-* 'blow the nose,' Oowekyala, Heiltsuk, Kwakwala *ɬnt-* 'blow the nose.' Chimakuan: Quileute *ɬod-* 'snot, blow the nose.'
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **ɬin-nuːq.* Proto-California **t^{l}VnVq* 'nose,' **t^{l}i/u* 'smell,' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ɬ–(n)* 'nose, smell.' Zuni *ɬino* 'blow the nose.'

532 NOSE$_4$ **sunik* ∼ **sinik*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **sanikwiwa* 'he blows his nose.'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *ʔosẽ̄nõʔ* 'smell.' Siouan: Chiwere *sĩŋe* 'smell,' Tutelo *sũw* 'stink.' ?Proto-Keresan **wʼiːšɨni.*
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **sini-k/p* 'nose, mouth, finger,' Oregon: Coos *siːn,* Takelma *sin-iːx.* California: Costanoan: Santa Cruz *suːnta* 'snot,' Miwok: Lake Miwok *ṣin-* 'blow the nose,' Central Sierra Miwok *sēŋ-aH* 'smelly thing,' Wintu *sono,* Chukchansi *sinikʼ,* Gashowu *sīn-wiyi* 'to blow the nose,' Proto-Yokuts **sin-* 'blow one's nose,' Yokuts *ṣēniṭʼ* 'smell,' Yaudanchi *senkʼa* 'smell.' Mexican: Huave *šink.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **sũ* 'smell,' Tewa *sũ* 'smell,' Kiowa *sẽ* 'smell,' Proto-Central Otomi **šiñũ,* South Pame *šinyû.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **si(ʔ).*
Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **su-ni-ka,* Atanque *sun-köna* 'beak,' Binticua

misun-a, Move *inson.*

Paezan: Itonama *usnu,* Colorado *sin,* Timucua *čini* 'nose, nostrils.'

Andean: Sek *čuna,* Leco *(bi-)činua,* Proto-Quechuan **sinqa.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *senna* 'smell (v.)' Iranshe *sɨ̃nepa* 'blow nose,' Ubde-Nehern *čin-uehei* 'smell,' Yuri *čunama* 'smell.'

Equatorial: Campa *asanki-ro* 'smell,' Callahuaya *čini,* Caranga *čonanğa* 'stink.'

• This root is also found in Khoisan, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Eurasiatic, Dravidian, Dene-Caucasian, Indo-Pacific, Nahali, and Austric (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

533 NOSE$_5$ **yak*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(ya)χu* ∼ **(yo)χu.* Proto-Yuman **yaːyoʔ.* Proto-Coahuiltecan **ya'ex,* Comecrudo *yax.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **yaka.*

534 NOW$_1$ **ere*

Chibchan: Terraba *eri* 'now, today,' Cacaopera *ira* 'today.'

Macro-Carib: Galibi *ereme,* Yameo *errama.*

Macro-Ge: Tibagi *ori* 'today,' Coropo *hora* 'today,' Fulnio *łe* 'now.'

• [CP135, MC46, MG112]

535 NOW$_2$ **ne*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **nẽː.*

Penutian: California **ne* . . .

536 NUMERAL PREFIX **ne-*

• [Ruhlen 1995d] The numeral prefix **ne-* is found in many, but by no means all, Amerind languages. See the data given for ONE, TWO, and THREE in this dictionary. The origin and meaning of this prefix is unknown.

537 OLD$_1$ **ano*

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Ocaina *onaː* 'older.' Yagua: Yameo *año.*

Macro-Panoan: Lule *ano* 'become old.' Proto-Panoan **ʔani* 'big.' Tacanan: Tacana *anu* 'old woman,' Chama *ano* 'grandmother.'

• [A202]

538 OLD$_2$ **kayo*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **keːhteː-.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-kayõː* 'be old.' Proto-Keresan **k'uyːyau-ḍᶻa*

'old woman.'

Penutian: California **key*, Proto-Maiduan **keːy*.

Macro-Carib: ?Proto-Witotoan **-gaï* 'old woman.'

539 OLDER FEMALE **wis-*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Mohawk *-a-thũ-wisə̃* 'woman.'

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil **wiš-* 'older sister.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *wežu* 'older female.'

Equatorial: Guahibo: Guayabero *wiš*^{y} 'female,' Churuya *-viči* 'female.'

• [Ruhlen 1994b] The Mohawk word is a compound of the feminine grade of the Amerind *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* root, modified by this root which changes 'sister, daughter' to 'woman.'

540 ONE$_1$ **(ne-)k'*^{w}*e(t)*

Almosan: Proto-Algic (Proulx) **ne-kwet-* ∼ **ne-kwec-*, Wiyot *gōʔt-*, Yurok *qoːt-*, Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian (Bloomfield) **nekotw-i*, Proto-Algonquian (Picard) **ne-kwet-wi*, Fox *négut*^{i}, Ojibwa *ningoto-*, Natick *nequt*, Blackfoot *nitúkska* (Sapir [1913] suggested that the Blackfoot form had arisen from earlier **nituki-*, and still earlier **nikuti-*, by metathesis). Kutenai *-ok'*^{w}*(ē)-* 'to be one,' *nʔaóːk'*^{w}*eː* 'the one, the other,' *náʔnka* 'orphan,' *-nikʔ-* 'one of, one belonging to' (noun class marker). Mosan: Proto-Salish (Swadesh) **nək'*^{w}*-əʔ*, Proto-Salish (Kuipers) **nak'* ∼ **nk'-uʔ* 'one, another, family, tribe,' Coeur d'Alene *nɛk'*^{w}*-ɛ'* 'one,' *nik'*^{w}*-* 'be tribe' (i.e. 'be *one* with the tribe, be *one* of the tribe'), Flathead *nk'*^{w}*ú*, Kalispel *nk'*^{w}*uʔ*, Wenatchee-Columbian *nk'*^{w}*-*, Musqueam *nəc'aʔ*, Lummi *nəc'əʔ*, Duwamish *dəč'uʔ*, Twana *dəč'óˑ-*, Clallam *néc'uʔ*, Upper Chehalis *nač'aw*, Colville-Okanagan *nk'*^{w}, Spokane *nk'*^{w}*uʔ*, Saanich *nəc'əʔ*, Samish *nəcaʔ*, Tillamook *néč'-*. Wakashan: Heiltsuk *n'hx*^{w}*-*, Haisla *n'ax*^{w}*-*, Kwakwala *n'ax*^{w}*-*, *nā'χŭla* 'alone,' *-k'ōt* 'one side.'

Keresiouan: Caddoan: ?Adai *nancas*.

Penutian: Tsimshian: Coast Tsimshian *k'*^{w}*i-daːt* (used in counting human beings aboard canoes). Chinook *qwənma* 'five' (< **qwət-ma* 'one-hand'). Oregon: Siuslaw *nīk'a* 'alone.' Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **naːχč*, Sahaptin *naχš*, *-anakw-* 'to leave, desert,' *anakwət* 'deserted spouse,' Nez Perce *nāqc*, Klamath *n̥ās*, Cayuse *náˑ*, Molale *naŋŋa*, Modoc *nas*. California: Wintun *k'et-eˑ*, Patwin *ʔete-*, Yokuts *yet'*. Proto-Gulf **ʔunk'u*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha (Swadesh) **nik'u*, Eastern Atakapa *hanik*, Western Atakapa *tanuk*, *hinak* 'like,' Chitimacha *ʔungu*, *-nk'iš* 'just, only,' Natchez *-neke* 'like, as if,' Tunica *-nahku* 'like.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan (Kaufman) **k*^{y}*'a*. Yana *k'ai* 'only, one.' Kashaya *kū* ∼ *hku*. Washo *lák'a-* (< **nák'a-*). Coahuiltecan: Karankawa *nātsa*, Comecrudo *nāwis*. Proto-Pomo **k'a(ː)-*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(Y)(n)k^{w}e(h)(n)*, Popoloca *hnku*, Proto-Mazatec **(h)nku* ∼ **ngu*, Chocho *ngu*, Popoloco (Oaxaca) *nakua*, Amuzgo *nkwi*, Mazahua *nʔaha*, Otomi *nʔna*, South Pame *ʔna*, Trique *ʔngo*.

Chibchan: Ika *inʔgui*, Damana *ingwi*, Atanque *eingui* 'other,' Chumulu *kué*, Gualaca *kue*, Chimila *kuté*, Cuna *kuenča-kua*.

Paezan: Millcayac *negui*, Chimu *onkó*, and Eten *unik*.

Andean: Zaparoan: Zaparo *nokoáki*, Shimigae *nikíño*, Conambo *nukaki*, Iquito *nóki*, Cahuapana *núki*.

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kɨ* 'first.' Proto-Guahiban **kae-haewa*, Guahibo *kai*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Tucano *nik-e* (masculine), *nik-o* (feminine), *nik-a* (neutral), Hehenawa *k^{w}inaro*, Dyuremawa *kuinaro*, Bahukiwa *kuinarõã*, Cubeo *kũinalõ*.

Macro-Carib: Yabarana *enix-péte*.

Macro-Panoan: Atsahuaca *nikatsu*, Amahuaca *naː*, Caduveo *nigot nubaːr̃at* 'five' (*nubaːr̃at* = 'hand').

Macro-Ge: Opaie *enex-há*, Yabuti *niči*.

• [AK144, Ruhlen 1995d]

541 ONE$_2$ **tama*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **tum* ∼ **tuʔ* ∼ **tu(h)*.

Chibchan: Dobocubi *tam*. Yanomam *tim* 'nominalizer of verbs, the one.'

Paezan: ?Timucua *-te-ma* 'the one who.' Barbacoan: Telembi *tumuni*.

Macro-Carib: Bora *canere*, *thanere* (Tessmann). Carib: Proto-Hianocoto **teñi*, Crishana *tuimo*. Witoto: Witoto *dane*, *dama* 'alone,' Nonuya *daːmu*, Miranya Carapana Tapuya [zähzähma], Ocaina *tiamaːma*. Yagua: Peba *tomɛtaira*.

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Guachi *tamak*. Lengua *tama*.

• [A203]

542 ONE$_3$ **kela* ∼ **kana*

Penutian: Tsimshian *k'al*. California: Miwok: Central Sierra *kenge*, Marin *kene*; Wintun *ketet*. Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *o-kɛl* 'be lonesome.'

Chibchan: Cueva *kenčeko*.

Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *kan*, Totoro *kaʔna*. Paez: Coconuco *kana*. Millcayac *lkanem* 'one time,' Allentiac *lka*.

Andean: Mapudungu *kiñe*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *kiuana*. Proto-Nambikwara **kanaːka(nat)*, Tarunde *kanakero*, Kokozu *kenage*, Elotasu *knakna*, Northern Nambikwara *kanãːka*. Tucano: Waikina *kanoa*, Wanana *kilia*, Hehenawa *kwina-ro* (cf. *pika-ro* 'two'). Cf. Iranshe *kə̃tapwi*, *kula-pa* 'other side.'

Equatorial: Sebondoy *kanži.*

- [A204]

543 ONE$_4$ **sem*

Almosan: Salish: Bella Coola *smaw.*

Penutian: Plateau: Sahaptin *sim* 'only,' Nez Perce *cim* 'only.' Zuni *samma* 'alone.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **še,* Washo *šemu* 'the one,' Shasta *tsammu* 'one,' Chumush *čumu* ∼ *šumu* 'one,' Comecrudo *somi* 'alone.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **seme* ∼ **se,* Mono *sɨmɨ,* Comanche *sɨmɨʔ,* Aztec *seːmeh,* Pipil *sæm, sæm-pual* 'twenty' (literally, 'one-counted [person]).

Chibchan: Rama *saima* 'likewise,' *sáimiŋ* 'one,' Sanuma *tsami* 'alone.' Yanomam *cami,* Sanema *čaːmi.*

Paezan: Atacama *sema,* Timucua *isimi* 'only, sole, alone.'

Equatorial: Candoshi *-sama* '. . . like, similar to' (suffix on nouns and pronouns).

Macro-Carib: Witotoan: Andoquero *cɛcaːma.*

Macro-Panoan: Angaite *seima,* Lengua, Mascoy *swama.*

Macro-Ge: Ge: Chavante *simisi,* Cherente *šimiši.*

- [Ruhlen 1994g] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

544 ONE$_5$ **saka*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *asku.* Iroquoian: Seneca *ska.* Proto-Keresan **ʔisga,* Acoma *ʔiska.*

Paezan: Warao *isaka.*

Andean: Lamisto *sok,* Jebero *saka* 'only.' Quechuan: Quiteño *šuk.*

- [AK143, AN81]

545 ONE$_6$ **pa*

Almosan: Proto-Central Salish **palaʔ.* Proto-Chimakuan **waɬ* ∼ **wi(ɬ).*

Keresiouan: Siouan: Biloxi *pa* 'alone, only.'

Penutian: Gulf: Yuki *pa^n-,* Wappo *pʼai* 'alone,' *pawa* 'one.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **p^{h}a* ∼ **pey.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pul* ∼ **pola.*

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Matagalpa *bas.*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **aba,* Choco, Waunana, Tado, Chami, Tukura *aba,* Andagueda *abba,* Sambu, Saija *haba.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Nambikwara *banure,* Capishana *patairɛ,* Yuri *peya.*

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **ba,* Bare *bakunakawi,* Wapishana *bayadap,* Amuesha *pačia,* Tariana *pada,* Chamicuro *padlaka,* Terena *paisuan,* Manao *panimu,* Maypure *papeta,* Mehinacu *pauica,* Marawan *paxa,* Baniva *peyaːlo,*

Arawak *aba,* Achagua *abai,* Guinau *abamedǰa,* Caliponau, Catio *aban,* Piapoco *aberi,* Resigaro *apaːhapene,* Uainuma *apagerei,* Campa *aparo,* Mawakwa *apaura,* Adzani *apekuca.* Proto-Tupi-Guarani **pe,* Kepkeriwat *pangue,* Munduruku *panta.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Carib *abama,* Carif *abana.*

Macro-Panoan: Panoan: Maruba, Caripuna *pazü.* Proto-Tacanan **peia* 'one, other, another,' Cavineña *pea,* Tacana, Tumupasa, Isiama, Araona *peada,* Sapiboca *pebbi.*

546 ONE$_7$ **as*

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **as.*

Hokan: Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **iCa.*

Chibchan: Paya *as.* Misumalpan: Sumu, Panamaca *as,* Ulua, Twahka *asla,* Matagalpa *bas.*

Paezan: Paez: Paez *yas.*

Macro-Carib: Bora *c^{h}a-* 'one, a.'

547 ONE$_8$ **čeñe*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ḉ[eː]HV.*

Andean: Gennaken *čeye,* Puelche *čia.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Durina *čun.*

Equatorial: Arawak: Mapidian *čioñi.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Waiwai *čewñe,* Apalai *seni.*

Macro-Ge: Guato *čenehe.*

548 ONE$_9$ **hu*

Paezan: Mura: Bohura *huyiː.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **huk,* Ayacucho *huk.*

Equatorial: Arawakan: Paumari *huarani.*

Macro-Panoan: Panoan: Yamiuaua *huisti.*

Macro-Carib: Yagua *huː.*

549 ONE$_{10}$ **man*

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *m'n-* 'one, alone, single, another one.'

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *miːʔ-s* ∼ **meː-ʔs.* California: Proto-Maiduan **mɨ* 'that one.'

Chibchan: Yanoama: Surara *mahon,* Yanomam *moni.*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Cayapa *main,* Colorado *mã-* 'one, again.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Dou *meẽ,* Curicuriai *meid.* Macu-Puinave *miːk.*

Equatorial: Arawak: Paraujano *manei.* Tupi: Arua *miːn,* Sanamaica *mun,* Arikem *mundapa.* Trumai *mihin.* Kandoshi: Shapra *minapta,* Murato *minumpta.*

550 ONE$_{11}$ **owin*

Chibchan: Yanomam *wani* 'the one.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Caribe *obin*, Tivericoto *ovin*, Caribisi *owe*, Cariniaco *owi*, Galibi *awin*, Chiquena *winali*.
Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Tiatinagua *owi*.
Macro-Ge: Yabuti: Arikapu *owa*.

551 OPEN$_1$ **k'une*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *kæn*, Algonquian: Arapaho *kãne*. Kutenai *uk'un*.
Penutian: Oregon: Lower Umpqua *qunh*. Gulf: Wappo *k'ine*.
• [AK145, P173]

552 OPEN$_2$ **pai*

Penutian: California: Maidu: Nisenan *pe*. Gulf: Atakapa *pai*.
Paezan: Atacama *pai* 'uncover,' Catio *ebaya*.
• [P174, CP143]

553 OTTER **keta*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **ketateːwa*.
Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **kitaːpat*.
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **keca*.

554 OWL$_1$ **tuku(l)*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwalwala *dx-* 'owl, hoot.'
Penutian: California: Miwok: Lake Miwok *túkkuli*, Plains Miwok *tukúlli*, Northern Sierra Miwok *túkkuli*; Costanoan: Rumsen *túkun*. Gulf: Wappo *hutukuːlu* 'hoot owl,' Natchez **ʔukulul-uh* 'screech owl.' Mayan: Proto-Quichean **tuhkur*.
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tuku*.
Chibchan: Tarascan *tukuṛu*.
Paezan: Cayapa $t^y ut^y u$.
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **tuku*.

555 OWL$_2$ **pulpul*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **bõbõrã*, Embera Tado *boborã*, Embera Darien *põpõrã*. Barbacoan: Colorado *bonbo*.
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **bɨpu pako*, Cubeo *pupuri*. Kakua *pɨbɨp*, Jupda *pəbəp*. Muniche *pupawa*.
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **punpuli*, Curripaco *pupuli*, Yucuna *puːpu*, Resigaro *popoːgi*.
Macro-Carib: Meneca *buru*, Pemon *porotoiko*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **pupu,* Proto-Panoan **popo* 'kind of owl.'

556 PAIN **(n)ana*

Andean: Patagon: Manekenkn *anonia.* Quechuan: Santiagueño *nana* 'pain, to hurt,' Cochabamba *nana* 'to hurt.' Zaparo: Arabela *no:* 'to hurt.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Hishcariana *anhi* 'evil' (n.), Surinam *anɨ:ikɨ* 'sickness,' Aparai *t-one* 'bad.' Witoto: Orejon *ana* 'devil,' Nonuya *hoani* 'bad.' Yagua: Peba *yuno* 'devil,' Yameo *ana* 'pain.'
• [A205]

557 PARROT$_1$ **cece*

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *čučaʔa.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ćeće, *ǰeǰe.*

558 PARROT$_2$ **kara ∼ keri*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k'e:l.*
Chibchan: Chimila *isa kwaru.*
Paezan: Proto-Choco **k^{h}are* 'parrot,' Darien *k^{h}ek^{h}ere* 'parakeet,' Waunana *keker* 'parakeet.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Tucano, Bara, Tuyuka *kekero* 'parakeet.'
Equatorial: Arawakan: Maipuran: Curipaco *keri-keri* 'parakeet,' Piapoco *kilikili* 'parakeet'; Guahibo *kikir* 'parakeet.'
Macro-Carib: Witoto: Muinane *kɨ:raba.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **kara.*

559 PARROT$_3$ **kaka*

Hokan: Yurumangui *kaukano.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Nambikwara: Anunze *kakaiteze.*

560 PARROT$_4$ **tuwi*

Equatorial: Achuar *tuwiš.*
Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *ta:we.* Proto-Tacanan **tu(ʔ)i* 'small parrot.'

561 PAST$_1$ **-na*

Hokan: Achomawi *-n-* (distant past), Atsugewi *-'n-* (distant past); Subtiaba, Tlappanec *ni-* (perfective durative); Yana: North Yana *-'n(a)-* (remote past).
Macro-Panoan: Panoan: Chacobo *-ni* 'a long time ago'; Tacanan: Tacana *-na* (remote past); Lule [-ny] (recent past); Mataco *-ne* (past).

?Macro-Ge: Ge: Cayapo *-na* (present or recent past).
• [G77]

562 PAST$_2$ **-ite*

Macro-Panoan: Lule *-ate* (remote past), Vilela *ete* (adverb indicating a completed act); Tacanan: Tacana *-tia* (immediate past), *-(ti)ba* (past); Mataco *pa-nte* (remote past, cf. *ma-te* [recent past]); Panoan: Chacobo *ʔita* (action taken yesterday); Lengua: Mascoy *athta* (past); Moseten *at* + VERB + *te* (perfect), *at* + VERB + *ike* (pluperfect).
Macro-Ge: Ge: Kraho *itɛ* (past).
• [G78]

563 PAST$_3$ **-k*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **-k.* Zuni *-ka.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **-k^{y}i.*

564 PEEL$_1$ **t^l'uq'^{w}*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **luq'^{w}* ∼ *laq'^{w}* 'peel off.' Wakashan: Kwakwala *t^l'uk'^{w}a* 'peel bark off with a lever.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ɬ-w-(l)* 'peel, skin, bark, cover.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **loki.*

565 PEEL$_2$ **pas*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **pas-* 'peel off a layer of something,' Proto-Algonquian **pehš-* 'peel, husk.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **pośi.*

566 PENIS **ko*

Macro-Tucanoan: Maku *koi.* Puinave: Curiariai *oeɣi.* Yuri *uke.*
Equatorial: Tupi: Guaraní *t-ako* 'groins, hips,' Abanee *t-ako* 'vagina,' etc. Zamuco: Chamacoco *os-axa,* Tumraha *p-axa.*
• [A206]

567 PEOPLE **ʔoni*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **hanʊ* 'people.' Caddoan: Caddo *hayānuʔ* 'person.'
Penutian: Gulf: Wappo *oni*, Tunica *ʔoni.*
• [AK151, P176]

568 PERSON$_1$ **kaya*

Andean: Leco *čaya* 'people.' Zaparo: Zaparo, Arabela *kaya,* Iquito *kaːya*

'man.'

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Angaite *kea* 'man.' Mataco: Choroti *kihi* 'man,' Payagua *ako* 'man,' Choropi *-kaya* 'husband.'

• [A207]

569 PERSON$_2$ **mik^w*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-lmaχ^w* 'person, tribe,' Proto-Salish **qal-mix^w*, ?Proto-Algonquian **moːhkomaːna* 'white man.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **õːk^{w}ih* 'man, person.'

Penutian: California *mVw* 'Indian,' Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **mik^{w}ːɨ* ~ *muk^{w}ːɨ* 'person, Indian.'

Paezan: Barbacoan *mɨk* 'man,' Proto-Choco **ɨmɨk^{h}ĩrã* 'man.'

570 PERSON$_3$ **win*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-wiːnõː-* 'young man, young woman.'

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptin *winc* 'man'; California: Wintun: Wintu *wint^{h}uːh*, Patwin *win*; Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **winaq* 'man, person,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔa-win* 'elder brother of a woman' (for *ʔa-*, see ELDER$_1$).

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **wayna* 'young man.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Kaliana *wane* 'husband,' Chayma *wane* 'husband'; Yagua *wanũ* 'men,' *rai-wano* 'my husband.'

• [P179, MC30]

571 PITCH (RESIN) **salak* ~ **sakal*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **c-x-(l)* 'pitch, resin,' California *čaxa* 'pitch (resin),' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan *s-k-C* 'wax, pitch,' Proto-Yokuts *saːxal* 'pitch.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **šalaH* 'pitch, sticky.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **sala* 'pitch, gum, sap.'

• The direction of metathesis is not clear.

572 PLANT **qaywa*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **kiw'a* 'plant (n.)'

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **kuy* 'tree, wood.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a-)χay* 'tree,' Proto-Pomo **qaːye* ~ *qayeː* 'manzanita bush.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **kow(a)* 'plant, tree,' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **kui* 'tree.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **qaywa.*

573 PLAY (v.) *loʔu

Almosan: ?Proto-Algonquian *-lawe:* 'make happy, please someone, give someone joy.'

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **loː-l,* Takelma *loːux*; Plateau: Klamath *leːʔwa*; California: Lake Miwok *ʔeːla,* Yokuts: Gashowu *luʔu.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **loʔo.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **ləuːn.*

• [P181]

574 PLURAL$_1$ *ina ~ *ana

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *-an* ~ *-in* (pronominal plural); Guaymi: Move *-n* (pronominal plural); Talamanca: Terraba *-n* ~ *-in* (pronominal plural); Lenca: Membreno *-nan* ~ *-n* (pronominal plural).

Andean: Zaparoan: Zaparo *-na* (pronominal plural); Itucale *-na* (pronominal plural); Cahuapana: Jebero *-na* (third-person pluralizer); Yamana, Yahgan, Mapudungu *-n* (plural of independent pronouns in all three persons).

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Tiquie *naː* 'they, their,' *na* (plural of demonstratives and nouns), Nadobo *ana* 'the others'; Canichana *-na* (nominal plural); Ticuna *na-* 'their,' *nyʔũ* 'they.'

Equatorial: Arawakan: [languages?] *-n(a)* (third-person plural possessive, verb subject); Kandoshi *-ana* (third-person plural noun object); Jivaro: Aguaruna *-(i)na* (plural subject of verb); Piaroa: Saliba *ña* (plural marker in demonstratives).

• [G30] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

575 PLURAL$_2$ *ma ~ *me

Penutian: Chinook *-ma* (collective.) Plateau: North Sahaptin *-ma* (plural), Nez Perce *-me* (plural.) California: Costanoan: San José *-ma-* (nominal animate plural.) Gulf: Yuki *-am* (collective), *-(y)am* (plural marker on verbs), Chitimacha *-ma* (verbal and adjectival plural.)

Central Amerind: Oto-Manguean: Ixcatec *suwa-ma* 'they' (cf. *suwa* 'he, she, that'), Chiapanec *-me* (plural), Otomi (San José del Sitio) *go-bẽ* 'our ex.' (cf. *-go* 'my'); Uto-Aztecan: [languages??] *-me* (noun plural); Tanoan: Taos *nemã* (plural of names of animals) (cf. *-na* [singular]), Kiowa *-mɔ̃* (plural).

Macro-Ge: Ge: Krenje *me-ʔay* 'your' (cf. *ʔay* 'thy'), *me-h* 'their' (cf. *h-* 'his'), Kraho *wa-me* 'we' (cf. *wa* 'I'); Chiquito *-ma* (plural); Bororo *-ma-gue* (nominal plural for humans).

• [G31]

576 PLURAL$_3$ **aki*

Almosan: Algonquian: Proto-Central-Eastern Algonquian **-aki* (animate plural).
Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *-ak-* (plural object of a verb).
Penutian: California: Costanoan: San José *-k-* (plural); Miwok *-k-* (plural, cf. *mi* 'you [sg.],' *mi-ko* 'you [pl.]), Northern Sierra Miwok *nekko* 'these,' Miwok *-k* (third-person plural affix on nouns and verbs.) Gulf: Chitimacha *-ka* (plural on nouns and verbs), Atakapa *-k* (plural affix on verbs and pronouns), Muskogean: Creek *-aki* ∼ *-agi* (plural of a few nouns indicating persons and a limited group of adjectives).
• [G32] Note that the *-k* plural is almost always personal and/or animate.

577 PLURAL$_4$ **le*

Chibchan: Guaymi: Move, Muoi, Guaymi *-ri* (pronominal plural), Murire *-re* (pronominal plural); Talamanca: Bribri *-r* (nominal plural), Borunca *-roh* (pronominal plural); Misumalpan: Cacaopera *-ra* 'plural of second-person plural verb subject), Xinca *-li* (nominal and pronominal plural), Paya *-r(i)* (marker of plural verb subject).
Paezan: Guambiana *-ele* (noun plural), *re-yle* 'they' (cf. *ri* 'he'), Guanaca *-el* (noun plural), Totoro *-le* (noun plural); Barbacoan: Colorado *-la* (nominal and pronominal plural), Cayapa *-la* (pronominal and verbal plural); Choco: Catio *-ra* (nominal and pronominal plural).
Macro-Panoan: Mataco *-el* (plural marker on nouns and pronouns); Lule *mi-l* 'you (pl.),' *-l* (personal plural, e.g., *kwe-l* 'children'); Guaicuru: Mocovi *le-ta:* 'their father' (cf. *i-ta:* 'his/her father'); Lengua: Mascoy *k^{y}el* 'you (pl.), they.'
• [G33] This root is also found in Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

578 POTATO$_1$ **qaw*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **s-qawc.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q^{h}awel* ∼ **qχawel.*

579 POTATO$_2$ **kali*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **čal^y* 'wild potato.'
Paezan: Proto-Choco **ik^{h}ade* 'yam.'
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **k^{h}alɨ(-t^{h}ɨ).*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **kari.*

580 PRESENT/CONTINUATIVE **-is*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *-(ə)s* (continuative); Salish: Upper Chehalis

s- (continuative).

Keresiouan: Caddoan: [languages??] *-s* (imperfective/progressive); Iroquoian: [languages] *-s* (imperfective/progressive); Keresan: Acoma *-sə* (continuative/ repetitive/habitual).

Penutian: California: Wintun: Patwin *-s* (present); Plateau: Sahaptin *-š'* (continuative), Nez Perce *-s* (present perfect); Oregon: Siuslaw *-iːs* ∼ *-uːs* (durative); Gulf: Yuki *-is* (continuative), Chitimacha *-iš* (continuative).

• [G70] Possibly connected with the following etymology.

581 PRESENT/DURATIVE **-i*

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *-i* ∼ *-li* ∼ *-ni* ∼ *-hi* ∼ *-ši* (progressive); Cuna *-i* (present); Rama: Rama *-i* (present), Guatuso *-i* ∼ *-e* (present); Misumalpan: Miskito *-i* (present participle).

Paezan: Chocoan: Catio *-i* (present), Warrau *-i* (present participle).

Macro-Carib: Carib: Macusi, Kaliana, Accawai, Oyana, Trio *-i* (indefinite tense indicating the present in particular); Bora: Muinane *-ʔi* (durative/progressive); Yagua: Yameo *-i* (progressive).

• [G71] Possibly connected with the preceding etymology.

582 QUAIL **takaka*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ṭaKaKa* ∼ **ṭ'aKaKa* 'valley quail.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **takaka* ∼ *kakata.*

583 RAT **kaba*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **XaBa.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ka(wa).*

584 RAW **čaw*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **saw.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **c̣awa.*

585 RECIPROCAL **-ki* ∼ **-ka*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *čī-k* 'child' (if this derives from **tin-ki*),

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan (Matthews) **-ki* ∼ **-ka* (reciprocal on kin terms), **i-thā́-ki* 'man's sister (older or younger),' **i-thā́-ka* 'woman's younger sister,' **yī́-ki* 'son,' **yū́-ki* 'daughter,' Biloxi *as-tĭ-ki* 'boy'; Yuchi *wi-ta-ki* 'young man'; Caddoan: Pawnee *ti-ki* 'boy, son.'

Penutian: California: Miwok: Southern Sierra Miwok *tā́-čiʔ* 'older brother,' Costanoan: San Juan Bautista *ta-ka* 'older brother,' Rumsien *tá-ka* 'older brother.'

Hokan: Yanan: Proto-Yanan **-si* (a suffix "used in several . . . terms indi-

cating relations to one of a younger generation" [Sapir 1918: 156]), Yahi *t'i'nī-si* 'child, son, daughter'; Pomo: Southern Pomo *t'i-ki* 'younger sibling'; Konomihu *ču-ka* 'boy.'

Central Amerind: Manguean: Mazahua *t'i-ʔi* 'boy,' Proto-Central Otomi **šũ-ci* 'girl' (< **tun-ki*); Tanoan: Tewa *sũn-ci* 'intimate friend, chum' (< **tun-ki*).

Chibchan: Aruak: Binticua *ču-ka* 'grandchild,' *a-ta-ka* 'old woman'; Chibcha: Tegria *su-ka* 'sister.'

Paezan: Chimu: Eten *čan-ka* 'sister'; Barbacoan: Cayapa *cuh-ki* 'sister.'

Andean: Zaparoan: Iquito *i-ta-ka* 'girl.'

Equatorial: Kariri: Kamaru *te-ke* 'nephew, niece'; Maipuran: Goajiro *tan-či* 'brother-in-law.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Amaguaje *ye-tsen-ke* 'son' (cf. *cin* 'boy'), Yupua *tsīn-geẽ* 'boy.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Kaliana *tai-ge* 'brother,' Taulipang *a-ci-ke* 'older brother.'

Macro-Ge: Ge: Aponegicran *i-thon-ghi* 'sister,' Karaho *a-ton-ka* 'younger sister,' Piokobyé *a-tõn-kä* 'younger sister.'

• [Ruhlen 1994b] In his classic study of Proto-Siouan kinship terminology G. H. Matthews noted that "there are two suffixes, **-ki* and **-ka*, which were probably productive in Proto-Siouan, but which, in the daughter languages, are nonproductive, or, in the case of **-ki* in some languages, semiproductive. Reflexes of these suffixes are now best treated as a part of the stems they follow, with the result that a stem in one language will sometimes be cognate with all but the last syllable of a stem in another language, this last syllable being a reflex of one of these Proto-Siouan suffixes" (Matthews 1959: 254–55). Possibly the diachronic source of the first affix, and perhaps of both, is the Proto-Amerind suffix *-ki* 'we-2 inclusive' (see WE-2 INCLUSIVE *ki* ∼ *ka*). Reflexes of this suffix are abundantly reflected in the SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER etymology, where in many cases the suffix has become fossilized on the root, as in Siouan.

586 RED **misk*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **meskwi*; Wakashan: Bella Bella *muk*^{w}.

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **m'aːc'i* 'blood,' Santa Ana *mʔaʔac'i*.

Penutian: Tsimshian *misk*. California: Yokuts *payčikin* 'blood.' Gulf: Atakapa *pošk* 'blood.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **maso* 'red, brown,' Proto-Coahuiltecan **msa'ol*.

• [AK157, P18]

587 REED **ʔakta*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ʔakta* 'reed, elbow,' Chitimacha *ʔakt* 'musical instrument made of bent cane reed.'

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ʔaxta* 'reed, cane.'

588 REFLEXIVE **ti*

Equatorial: Kariri *di-* (before consonants), *d-* (before vowels), both reflexive possessives, Yuracare *-ta* ∼ *-to* (reflexive verbal suffix); Tupian: Arikem *ta* (third-person reflexive object).

Macro-Carib: Carib *t-*.

Macro-Panoan: Tacana *-ti* (reflexive marker on verb).

Macro-Ge: Bororo *tu-* (third-person reflexive possessive, cf. *u-* [non-reflexive]).

• [G25] It is quite possible that these reflexive uses of *t-* are specializations of the common third person and distance demonstrative *ti* (see HE/SHE$_2$ *ti* ∼ *ta*).

589 RIB$_1$ **q'aci*

Almosan: Wakashan: Bella Bella *k'ōdᶻo* 'bone, rib' (borrowing from Chinook?).

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **kiːsuʔ* 'bone,' Pawnee *kīsu* 'bone,' Wichita *kīsʔa* 'bone,' Pawnee *kasis* 'be hard,' Arikara *kaħš* 'hard,' Wichita *kasɪ* 'hard, loud.' Keresan: Acoma *ya-gəc'-əni,* Santa Ana *sk'asɪ* 'hard.'

Penutian: Chinook *qotˢo* 'bone.' Plateau: Klamath *waq-k'as* 'shin bone.' California: Miwok: Southern Sierra Miwok *kɨččɨč* 'bone,' Plains Miwok *kəčəč* 'bone.' Gulf: Proto-North Yuki **k'iht* 'bone,' Yuki *k'iʔt* 'bone,' Wappo *kúṭe,* Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **kaci* 'bone,' Chitimacha *katˢi* 'bone.' Mexican: Mayan: Uspantec *k'alk'aš.*

Chibchan: Aruak: Binticua *katia* ∼ *kiasi.*

Paezan: Matanawi *kisi* 'bone,' Atacama *kada* 'bone,' Itonama *k'osa* 'dry' (intransitive).Chimu *čotti* 'bone,' Colorado *čide* 'bone,'

Andean: Selknam *q'eyt'* 'breastbone,' Mapudungu *kadi,* Genneken *uguets* 'bone,' Qawasqar *akšiase.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Kapishana *nya-kotsī* 'bone.'

Equatorial: Caranga *kaiču* 'bone.'

Macro-Panoan: Cavineña *(epere-)'katse,* Komlek *kadekotti* 'bone,' Caduveo *koda-uek'o.*

590 RIB$_2$ **ca*

Keresiouan: ?Proto-Caddoan **-saːtuʔ.*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **ca* 'bone.' Zuni *sa* 'bone.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ša* ∼ **sa.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ca* 'ribs.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ṣ̌ao* 'bone.'

591 RIGHT *pet

Almosan: Proto-Salish *put 'right, exact.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *pet 'right (side).'

592 RIVER$_1$ *pala

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *-aːpaːw(eː) 'water.' Wakashan: Nootka *m'it^{l}a* 'rain.'
Penutian: Chinook *emat^l* 'bay.' Oregon: Miluk *paɬt* 'sea,' Coos *balimis* 'sea.' California: Yokuts: Calavera *polley*; Wintun: Noema *pel-tepum*; Miwok: Lake Miwok *polpol* 'lake,' Central Sierra Miwok *polloku* 'lake.' Gulf: Yukian: Coast Yuki *mel,* Huchnom *mol,* Natchez *ʔapal* 'river.' Muskogean: Alabama *pahni.* Mexican: Mayan: Mam *palu* 'sea,' Quiché *palau* 'sea,' Kekchí *palau* 'sea, lake,' etc.
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(h)k^{w}e(n). Proto-Uto-Aztecan *mel 'flow,' Hopi *məːna* 'river.'
Chibchan: Cuna *ti-wala,* Guajiquero *wara,* Miskito *awala.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Cuaiquer, Telembi *pil.* Peine, Atacama *puri.* Timucua *iparu* 'drink (v.)'
Andean: Yamana *pɑlɑxana* 'rain (v.)'
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani *paranã 'river.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *parau* 'sea,' *paru* 'river, water,' Arara, Pariri, Apingi, Yaruma, Bakairi *paru.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *paro 'river.' Maca *iwalü.*
Macro-Ge: Otuke *ouru,* Caraja *bero,* Palmas *war* 'swamp.'
• [A210, CP151, MG91] Cf. WATER$_2$.

593 RIVER$_2$ *tia

Chibchan: Tarascan *ici* 'water.' Proto-Chibcha *di-ye 'water,' Margua *dia* 'water,' Boncota *ria* 'water,' Pedraza *dia* 'water.' Guaymi: Gualaca *ti* 'water,' Murire *či* 'water.' Misumalpan: Miskito *li, laya* 'water,' Matagalpa, Cacaopera *li* 'water.' Paya *tia* 'water.' Rama: Guatuso, Guetar *ti* 'water.' Talamanca: Tirub, Terraba, Bribri, Cabecar, Chiripo, Brunca *di* 'water,' Viceyta *dik* 'water.' Proto-Aruak *dih 'water,' *di-wə 'rain,' Tairona *dia* 'water.'
Paezan: Itonama *it^{y}e* 'rain (n.)' Chimu: Puruha *la* 'water.' Proto-Choco *to- ~ *do- 'drink, river.'
Andean: Leco *dua* 'water, river,' *ndowa* 'water.' Mayna *towa* 'water.' Cf. Sabela: Auca *oõdõ.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *idi 'drink,' *(d)ɨ-ko 'rain,' Yupua, Desana *dexko* 'water,' Sära *ida* 'water,' Buhagana, Macuna *ide* 'water.' Puinave: Papury *dex* 'water,' Tiquie, Hubde, Yehubde *nde* 'water.' Mu-

niche *idï* 'water.' Catuquina: Catuquina *uatahi* 'water.'

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **it^{h}a* 'drink.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *otõa.* Bora *teː.* Proto-Witotoan **tae(ʔi),* Ocaina *tyaːu, tiahe.*

Macro-Panoan: Pilaga *itarat* 'water.' Lule *to* 'water.'

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *taː* 'rain.' Ge: Apinage *inta* 'rain,' Karaho *ta* 'rain,' Cherente *tã* 'rain.' Kaingang *ta* 'rain (n.).' Mashakali: Macuni *taeŋ* 'rain,' Hahahay *te* 'rain,' Patasho *tiɛŋ* 'water.' Opaie *ox-ata* 'rain.' Puri: Coropo *tẽin* 'water.'

• [A211]

594 ROAD$_1$ **nama*

Penutian: California: Maidu *nen* 'travel.' Gulf: Atakapa *non* 'go.'

Andean: Patagon: Tehuelche, Teuesh *noːma,* Tsoneka *noma.* Quechua: Santiagueño *ñan,* Ecuadorean *ñambi.* Sabela: Auca *-dõ* (suffix, phonetically *nõ*).

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Querari *nãmã.* Ticuna *nama.* Yuri *nemo.*

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Ocaina *naːhon.* Yagua: Yagua *nɔn,* Peba *nou.*

• [A212]

595 ROAD$_2$ **p'en*

Penutian: California: Maidu *bo, ben* 'to step.' Gulf: Natchez *be* 'go' (pl. subject). Mexican: Proto-Mayan **be,* Quiché *be* 'go,' Kekchí *-be-* 'go' (auxiliary), Jacaltec *b'eyi* 'walk,' etc.

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Taos *p'ĩẽ,* Hopi Tewa *p'o.* Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 350 **po.*

Equatorial: Timote: Cuica *pa.* Proto-Tupi **pe, *ape,* Arikem *pa, paː.*

• [A213]

596 ROAD$_3$ **niyani*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *hiyaːni.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a)ña* 'path,' Proto-Yuman **ʔuñaʔa* 'road, path.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ñan ∼ niyani.*

597 ROCK$_1$ **ʔo*

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **ʔoh.*

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ʔuwiːʔ* 'stone.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔo.*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Cuaiquer *uʔuk* 'stone.'

Equatorial: Tupi: Kepkeriwat *ok* 'stone.'

598 ROCK$_2$ **tem*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tem.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **tomo.*

599 ROOT$_1$ **pal*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **p-l* 'root, camass,' Proto-Yokuts **hoːpʰul.* Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **wiɨ* 'root, leg.'
Hokan: ?Proto-Hokan **eːPu* 'edible root.'
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **pale.*
• [P194]

600 ROOT$_2$ **tap*

Andean: Aymara *sapʰi* (borrowing from Quechua?). Patagon: Ona *sape* 'rope.' Quechua (general) *sapi.*
Equatorial: Coche *tabotaha.* Cofan *cafa.* Guahibo: Cuiva *tabu.* Zamuco: Ayoré *taposi.* Cf. Jivaro: Aguaruna *čapik* 'rope.'
• [A214]

601 ROPE$_1$ **c'ak*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **c'ay-* 'guts, rope,' Wakashan: Haisla *c'aχ-,* Heiltsuk *c'aiχ.* ?Proto-Chimakuan **t'ikʷ-.*
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **sikwi-(p)* 'rope, sinew, tie,' Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **cal,* Takelma *c'uk.* Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **sehey* 'worm.' California: Yokuts *č'ik.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan **c̣uk* 'tie,' Huastec *c'ah,* Proto-Mixe-Zoque **cay* 'rope,' **siːʔw* 'cut into (rope).'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ca* 'tie.'
Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **si(si)-dai.* ?Yanomam *tʰok nak.* ?Rama *twik-sakak* 'coral snake.'
Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *ci,* Proto-Choco **čɨ.*
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *šeya.*
• [P195]

602 ROPE$_2$ **tit*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Yuki **tit* ∼ **ṭiṭ* 'rope, cord.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Macu Puinave *tɨt.*

603 ROTTON **pet'o*

Penutian: California: Proto-Miwok-Coastanoan **poṭo* 'rotten wood.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **puːcʔ* 'rot (v.)'
Chibchan: Cuitlatec *paʔdeʔe.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Cayapa *pete,* Cuaiquer *pɨtɨt,* Colorado *petneka*; Choco:

Epena *beda*, Tado *ɓeɗa-*, Saija *berau-da*, Chami *beɾs-da*, Catio *ɓeɾawa-*, Darien *beɾawa-*; Warrau *boto* 'be rotten.'

Equatorial: Arawakan: Achagua *badaidᶻiu*, Piapoco *i-bada-iri-wa*.

• [CP154]

604 ROUGH **č'aksi*

Penutian: Gulf: Yuki **šáki*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *č'ɔki*, Atakapa *cok-cokš*.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **caxsiɬ*.

605 ROUND$_1$ **k'ir*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **sk'ɨr'i-*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **iːKiR*.

606 ROUND$_2$ **molok*

Penutian: Plateau: Lutuami *napal* 'egg,' Klamath *napl* 'egg.' California: Maidu *p'ala* 'testicle.' Zuni *moʔle* 'egg.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *mol* 'egg,' *bolox* 'round,' Kekchí *mol* 'egg,' Tzotzil *balbal* 'round.'

Hokan: Comecrudo *pawapel*. Tequistlatec *apeloteʔ*. Tonkawa *pilaw*.

Chibchan: Xinca: Chiquimulilla *muːru* 'egg.'

Paezan: Allentiac *muru* 'testicle.'

Andean: Mapudungu *monkoll*. Cahuapana: Jebero *mungapiʎi*. Patagon: Tsoneka *muarie*. Quechuan: Cochabamba *moloq'u*.

• [A215]

607 RUB **yul*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *yḷsa* 'rub with the palm of the hand,' Heiltsuk *yḷχa* 'rub, smear body part.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **yuh* 'rub on.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **yuL*.

608 RUN$_1$ **kano*

Hokan: Yuma *kono*, Coahuilteco *kuino*, Washo *igelu*.

Chibchan: Dobocubi *kuri* 'flee,' Sumu *kiri*.

Andean: Qawasqar *kal* 'leg,' Aymara *čara* 'leg,' Tsoneka *kel* 'foot.'

Macro-Carib: Roucouyenne *ta-kane*, Witoto *ekain-ite* 'walk fast.'

• [H122, CP155, AN68, MC56]

609 RUN$_2$ **taka*

Penutian: California: Miwok: Plains Miwok *taige*, Maidu: Nisenan *dok*. Gulf: Tunica *taka* 'chase.'

Andean: Aymara *t'ikta,* Jebero *tək'k'a.*
• [P198, AN95]

610 SALIVA$_1$ **tupa*

Keresiouan: Siouan: Tutelo *čəpã* 'saliva'; Keresan: Keres *šupɨ* 'I spit,' Acoma *šúpə* 'saliva,' Laguna *šup'šup* 'spit.'
Penutian: California: Wintun: Patwin *tuba* 'spit' (v.) Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw *tufa* 'saliva,' Creek *tufkita* 'spit' (v.),' Koasati *tufka* 'spit' (v.) Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *tub* 'saliva,' Mam *tsup* 'saliva,' Tzotzil *tubal* 'saliva,' Quiché *č'ubinik* 'saliva.'
Central Amerind: Tanoan: Tewa *sóp'oh* 'saliva.'
Paezan: Nonama *ičituba* 'spit' (v.)
Andean: Pehuenche *tufcun* 'spit' (v.)
Equatorial: Saliba *čuva* 'saliva,' Wapishana *supit* 'spit' (v.), Urupa *çupe* 'saliva,' Culino *nasop^{h}e* 'his saliva.'
Macro-Carib: Witoto *tuva* 'spit' (v.)
Macro-Panoan: Moseten *čep* 'saliva.'
• This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

611 SALIVA$_2$ **tok^w*

Almosan: Nootka *tāx^w* 'to spit,' Quileute *tux-al* 'to spit.'
Keresiouan: Siouan: Osage *tatoxe.*
Penutian: Oregon: Yakonan *cak.* California: Miwok: Marin Miwok *tuka* 'to spit.' Gulf: Proto-Muskogean **tux^w.* Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sayula *cux.*
• [AK161, P200]

612 SALIVA$_3$ **ole*

Andean: Aymara: Lupaca *wiʎi* 'to spit.' Cholona *olle.*
Equatorial: Guahibo: Guahibo *ione,* Cuiva *one.* Proto-Tupi **enɨ.*
• [A216]

613 SALMON **c'wan*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **c'wan(x^w).*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a/i)č(V)wuːn* 'dog salmon.'

614 SALT$_1$ **k'ači*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *has-* 'sour.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **k^{h}uyuʔ.* Zuni *kʔose* 'to be salty.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k'ay* 'sour,' **k'ahVy* 'bitter,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **kacu(c)* 'bitter.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(aː-)k^{yh}aʔi ∼ *q'ay- ∼ *ik^{y}'o(y) ∼ *q'oy* bitter, sour,' Proto-Pomo **k^{h}eʔeː.*
Paezan: Timucua *kači* 'bitter.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **kačʲi.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Orejon *kači.*
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kaco(-rɨ)* 'sour.'

615 SALT$_2$ **si*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **šiːw-* 'sour, salty, sweet.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i)si-yV,* Proto-Yuman **ʔisiʎ, *sil* 'salty,' **siɨ* 'sour.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **sẽõ* 'bitter.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)se(h)(ʔ)* 'bitter, sour.'
Andean: Zaparo: Zaparo *ʔičauha.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *sã(ba)* 'bitter,' *si(ba)* 'sour.'
Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Lengua *yici* 'sour, bad.'
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *ša.*

616 SALT$_3$ **tam*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **dm-,* Kwakwala *dm-.*
Penutian: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **tamʔ* 'bitter.'
Hokan: Proto-Coahuiltecan **dem.*
Paezan: Proto-Choco **t^{h}ã.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *tuma-* 'tasty.'

617 SAND **yeʔwa*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **yaʔai.*
Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **yeʔwa.*

618 SAY$_1$ **ti*

Hokan: Achomawi *t-* (quotative, third person). Chumash *-ti-* (verbal action), *ti* 'name.' Salinan: San Miguel *ṭ^{h}eʔ* 'tell,' San Antonio *ṭeʔ* 'tell.' Subtiaba: Tlappanec *na-ʔta* 'he speaks.' Yana *tiː* 'say,' (quotative). Washo *id.*
Chibchan: Chibcha [ty] 'sing.' Talamanca: Terraba *ti* 'sing.'
Andean: Cahuapana: Jebero *tu, itu.* Leco *du* 'speak.' Zaparo *ati.*
Equatorial: Jivaro: Shuara *ti* ∼ *ta,* Aguaruna *ti.* Kandoshi *taː.* Maipuran: Amuesha *ot,* Cabere *ita* 'talk,' Piapoco *tani* 'talk,' Maypure *tura* 'talk.' Uro: Puquina *ata.* Yuracare *ta.*
Macro-Ge: Guato *m-utə* 'speak.' Kaingang: Dalbergia *tadn* ∼ *tu* 'tell,' Tibagi *to* 'say.' Mashakali: Capoxo *atai* 'speak.'
• [A217]

619 SAY$_2$ *q^waɬ

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian *kaɬawitamaweːwa 'talk'; Wiyot *heːl* 'say.' Kutenai *-haqaɬ-* 'talk.' Proto-Mosan *q^waːl- ∼ laːq^w 'speak, sing,' Chemakuan: Quileute *kul* 'have an idea'; Proto-Salish *q^wal 'speak, think,' Sechelt *q^wal* 'speak,' Squamish *q^wəlq^{w}l* 'talk excessively' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action), Cowichan *q^wal* 'say, speak,' Musqueam *q^wəyl* 'say, speak,' Chilliwack *q^weːl* 'say, speak,' Samish *q^wel* 'talk,' Saanich *q^wəl'q^wəl'* 'talkative'; Wakashan: Kwakwala *k^wak^w-* 'speak Kwakwala,' *waɬ-* 'speech, discourse.'

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Caddo *kan-* (quotative). Iroquoian: Mohawk *-kar-* 'story,' Oneida *-kalatu-* 'tell a story,' Cherokee *kakaːraʔ* 'story.' Siouan: Mandan *kina* 'tell.'

Penutian: Chinook *k^{w}ɬ* 'tell.' California: Proto-Yokuts **wil(i)*. Zuni *(ʔi)k^{w}a*, Gulf: Wappo *kal* ∼ *kel*, Natchez *weɬ* 'speak,' Tunica *wali* 'call,' Chitimacha *wan* 'speech.' Mexican: Totonac *wan*.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **k^wark^{w}ar* 'speak, answer.'

Paezan: Warao *wara* 'talk,' Timucua *kere* 'speak, tell.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *waːla* 'talk,' Tucano *uere* 'tell.'

Macro-Carib: Carib *ura* 'speak,' Witoto *uʔuriː* 'speak.'

• [A218, P203, MT90, MC60] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

620 SAY$_3$ *koʔe

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *hegol* (*h* < *zero), *hegoː, hegoːs* 'shout,' Wiyot *aːɣ*. Kutenai *kei, -ki-*. Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *ku* 'speak,' Quileute *ku*; Wakashan: Bella Bella *-k^y-* 'says'; Salish: Thompson *-okoː* (quotative), Upper Chehalis *-ače* (quotative), Shuswap *-ok^{w}e* (quotative).

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *-kaʔ* (quotative). Iroquoian: Seneca *ka* ∼ *kæ* 'story' (but cf. Mohawk *kar* 'story' in SAY$_2$ above). Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Mandan *kaʔɛhɛ* (quotative); Yuchi *kɛ*.

Hokan: Chimariko *-goː-, -koː-* 'talk.' Coahuilteco *kaː*. Comecrudo *kiwa*. Pomo: East Pomo *ga(-nuk)* 'speak.' Seri *keː, kaʔ*. Tequistlatec *ko*. Yana *ga-* (verbal activity; found in a number of verb stems, e.g. *ga-yaː* 'to talk').

• [A219]

621 SAY$_4$ *ʔai

Penutian: Tsimshian *he*. California: Maiduan: Maidu *ʔa*. Gulf: Wappo *hai, ha*, Muskogean: Natchez *hi*, Koasati *a*.

Chibchan: Tarascan *ay* 'tell,' Chilanga *ay(-on)*, Cuitlatec *e*.

• [P202, P204, CP157]

622 SAY$_5$ *ʔona

Penutian: California: Miwok: Bodega Miwok *ʔona.* Oregon: Coos *na.* Gulf: Muskogean: Alabama *ni.*
Andean: Zaparo *ana,* Sabela *ã,* Quechua *ni.*
• [P201, AN96]

623 SAY$_6$ *nik

Almosan: Proto-Wakashan *n'ik- 'say, tell,' Kwakwala *n'ik* 'say, tell,' Oowekyala *n'ixːn'ika* 'say repeatedly' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action). Bella Bella *neːk^y.*
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Cherokee *-negə̃* 'speak.'
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *na(ka).*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **Ney* 'say.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **niok* ∼ *neok* 'talk.'
Chibchan: Yanomam *nakoa* 'lick.'
Paezan: Barbacoa: Cayapa *nigka,* Colorado *nihka.* Betoi *ineka.* Cf. Allentiac *nanak,* but also Allentiac *nanat,* Millcayac *nanat.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ni-.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Maku-Puinave: Nukak *niːh, nɨːk* 'tongue,' Kakua *dĩh, dɨ̃k* 'tongue.' Catuquina: Catuquina *noɣo,* Parawa *noko.* Puinave: Hubde *noked(n),* Papury *noken,* Puinave *rok, lok.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **-iñiːko* 'tongue,' Carib: Carijona *iːniko* 'tongue'; Witoto: Bora *nɨːxɨ-k^{w}a* 'tongue,' Muinane *nexe-ba* 'tongue,' Miranya *nɨːhɨk^{w}a* 'tongue,' Imihita *me-nehekoa* 'tongue'; Yagua *nikyeː.*
• [A256, AK5]

624 SCRATCH$_1$ *χ^{w}ala

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **χala-.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **x^{w}al^y.*

625 SCRATCH$_2$ *c'iχ

Almosan: Proto-Salish **saχ* 'scrape.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **c'ɨh.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **aceχi.*

626 SEE$_1$ *new

Almosan: Proto-Algic **neːw-* 'see,' **nenʔaw* 'look for,' Yurok *new,* Proto-Algonquian **-naw* 'by sight,' **neːweːwa* 'he sees him,' Proto-Central Algonquian **neːw.*
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-na* 'eye,' **-ni* 'know.' Siouan: Tutelo *i-newa-,* Catawba *nĩ.* Iroquoian: Cherokee *ni* 'look.'

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **šNeː*, Northern Sahaptin *cnəm*, Nez Perce *-sleːw*. Zuni *ʔuna* 'look at.' Gulf: Proto-Yuki **nəw-*, Yuki *naw*, Wappo *naw-šiʔ*, Tunica *niyu* 'think,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ʔini* 'look for,' Atakapa *ini* 'search'; Muskogean: Choctaw *nowa*. Mexican: Mayan: Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Kekchí *naʔ* 'know,' Kekchí (Stoll) *nau* 'know.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **ni(n)* 'see, know, look at, hear,' **(n)yu* 'eye, face, head, nose.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ne*. Cf. Kiowa *dũ* 'seek.'

Paezan: Proto-Choco **unu-*, Darien *unu-*, Catio *ũdu-*, Embera *unu-*, Saija *unu-*. Timucua *ene* 'see, look, sight, vision, appear.' Millcayac *neu* 'eye.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ñawi* 'eye.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Macu-Puinave *ʔɛn*, Kakua *ʔẽd*. Muniche *ña-*.

Equatorial: Kariri *ne*. Maipuran: Campa *nie, uni*. Terena *u-ne* 'eye.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Crishana *u-ini* 'eye,' Ocomayana *u-nu* 'eye,' Wayana *ene*, Waiwai *enə*, Motilon, Apalai, Macoa *anu* 'eye,' Yupe, Chaque *ano* 'eye,' Surinam *oːnu* 'eye,' Pianacoto *-nei* 'eye,' Decuana, Pemon *enu* 'eye,' Palmella *ono* 'eye.' Witoto: Muinane *ono* 'know.' Yagua: Yagua *ũnuː* ∼ *nuːy* ∼ *inuː*, Yameo *nutẽ* 'look at.' Proto-Hianacoto **enuːlu* 'eye,' Cumanagota *enur* 'eye,' Pariri *uŋuru* 'eye.'

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *naha*. Proto-Ge **nɔ* 'eye,' Gorotire *no* 'eye.'

- [A220]

627 SEE$_2$ **win*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **wensaːpiwa* 'look from there,' **wiːninaːkwatwi* 'look dirty.'

Penutian: Proto-California **win/l-* 'see, look,' Wintun: South Wintu *wini*. Gulf: Atakapa *wine* 'find'; Tunica *wenu* 'find.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **wiŋ-at^y* 'eye, face.' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **win* 'eye,' Mixe *vihn* 'eye.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **wiy* 'eye.'

Andean: Sabela: Tiwituey *a-wiŋa* 'eye,' Sabela *a-winka* 'eye.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *we-* 'look at.'

Equatorial: Arawak: Wapishana *uŋ-wawin* 'eye.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Motilon *wano* 'I know.' Witoto *uiño* 'learn.'

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Mocovi *avana*. Mataco: Mataco, Choroti, Chunupi *wen*. Proto-Panoan **ʔoĩ*, Panobo *uiñ* 'look at.'

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *we*.

- [A221]

628 SEE$_3$ **pi*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-aːpi* 'see, look,' *-aːpam* ∼ **-apant* 'see.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **aP* 'look for.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **pũ* ∼ **bũ*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan **puci* ∼

*pusi ∼ *pu 'eye.'

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha *uba-N-(kʷa)* 'eye.' Proto-Aruak *uba ∼ *uma 'eye.'

Paezan: Timucua *epe* 'watch over, guard.'

Andean: Mapdungu *pe-*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara *ẽːp.

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani *epʸak.

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Mascoy *wi(-taiyi).* Moseten *ve* 'eye.' Proto-Pano-Tacanan *bɨ ∼ *bu 'eye, face, eyebrow, eyelash,' Proto-Panoan *βɨ-ro 'eye,' *βɨ- 'face, eye, surface.' Proto-Tacanan *ba- 'look at.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pip, pim.* Caraja *bie.* Chiquito *ipa* 'know.' Ge: Kraho *pu ∼ pupun,* Krenje *pupua.* Kaingang: Kaingang *apin-ta* 'eye,' Dalbergia, Tibagi *ve.* Mashakali *pe-*.

• [A222]

629 SEE$_4$ *ma ∼ *mi ∼ *mu

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *ima. Coahuilteco *-maːs ∼ -maːš,* Comecrudo *max ∼ mahe ∼ ma.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *mɑw(a).* Proto-Uto-Aztecan *mai.* Tanoan: Taos *mũ.*

Chibchan: Tarascan *mi, miu,* Yanomam *mi* 'see,' *mɨ* 'see, look (at).'

Paezan: Cayapa *mi,* Atacama *mini.* Mariusa *mu* 'eye.' Timucua *muku* 'eye.'

Equatorial: Arawakan: Paumari *murubui* 'eye.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *mïra- 'look for.'

• [CA67, CP160]

630 SEE$_5$ *ʔica

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan *c'e.* Gulf: Muskogean: Alabama *hica,* Koasati *hiːca,* Muskogee *heš*; Yukian: Wappo *huc'c'i.* Chitimacha *heč-t-* 'watch, guard'; Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *ʔis; Mayan: Laca *ʔič* 'eye,' Yuca *ʔič* 'eye,' Itza *ič* 'eye,' Mopa *ʔič* 'eye,' Teco *wic* 'eye,' Mam *wic* 'eye,' Agua *wic* 'eye,' Cakchiqel *wič* 'eye,' Tzutzil *wač* 'eye.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan *ce 'eye.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *išeni.* ?Yanomam *həti* 'look for.'

Equatorial: Tupi: Wayampi *-ɛsa.* Jivaroan: Achuar *hiːstin.* Taruma *-ci* 'eye.' Proto-Tupi-Guarani *eča 'eye.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *is-*.

• [P66]

631 SEE$_6$ *ʔuka

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *-xiːk-.* California: Proto-Yokuts *ʔek'a.* ?Zuni *ʔuna* 'look at.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ʔu,* Proto-Yuman **ʔuːka.* Proto-Pomo **huʔːuy* 'eye.' Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **ʔu* 'eye.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **eika* 'eye.' Catuquina *ügho* 'eye.'

• Also found in Indo-European, Altaic, and Dravidian (Ruhlen 1994g).

632 SEE$_7$ **ila*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **eɬaːpiwa* 'look thither,' **eɬaːpameːwa* 'look at him thus.' Wakashan: Kwakwala *lyt* 'look for.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ɬ-m-(ṭ)* 'eye.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **il.*

Andean: Mapudungu *leli-* 'watch' (reduplication to indicate continuous action), Qawasqar *leyes* 'see, look.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pijao *luːn* 'eye.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **ilːoː.*

633 SEE$_8$ **wat*

Almosan: ?Proto-Algonquian **waːpameːwa* 'see, look at,' ?**waːpiwa* 'look, see,' ?**waːwaːpameːwa* 'look at.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-wat'yaipa* 'look for.'

Penutian: Proto-Mayan **wat^y* 'eye, face.'

634 SEED$_1$ **mak*

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Miskito *ma* 'seed, fruit.' Yanoama: Yanomamï, Sanema *ma,* Yanomam *mak.* Cf. Misumalpan: Sumu *makka* 'seed, fruit' (in which, however, *-kka* is probably a suffix) and Chibcha *uba* 'flower.'

Andean: Quechua: Cochabamba, Wanka *muhu,* Junin *muyu,* Ecuadorean *muyu* 'fruit.' Sabela *mo.* Yamana: Yamana *amaia* 'berries,' Yahgan *amaɣan.* Zaparo: Andoa *imio.*

• [A223] Cf. CHILD$_2$.

635 SEED$_2$ **icu*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *dᶻiːya.* Proto-Keresan **hiːḍᶻɨni,* Santa Ana *(hiː-)ẓa(-ni).* Proto-Siouan (M) **su, *šu* 'seed, grain.'

Penutian: Gulf: Tunica *uxsa,* Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **šo,* Atakapa *šo,* Chitimacha *šokt* 'pecan nut.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **iso,* Proto-Pomo **ʔisoː ∼ ʔisoy,* North Pomo *soː,* Kashaya *ʔiso.* Seri *is* 'fruit.' Subtiaba *iši* 'grain of corn, corn,' Tlappanec *iššu* 'grain of corn, corn.' Yuman: Cocopa *yes,* Walapai *yac,* Havasupai *iyac,* etc.

Andean: Qawasqar *(ye)c'oy.*

Macro-Panoan: Lule [zu] *cu.* Mataco: Vejoz *ɬoi,* Choroti *ɬo,* Macca *tˡoi.* Proto-Panoan **iṣïi.* Tacanan: Chama, Huarayo *eso.*

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **zɨ.*

• [A224]

636 SEEK **peno*

Andean: Cahuapana *apenurave* 'I love,' *apenotu* 'lover.' Zaparo: Zaparo *pani* 'want,' Andoa *pani* 'desire.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pe, pen.* Ge: Kraho *pwəm* 'want.' Kaingang: Tibagi *penoa, penoi.* Opaie *pino* 'wish.'

• [A225]

637 SEW$_1$ **pik*

Penutian: Zuni *pik(-ɬa).* Gulf: Natchez *bōx.*

Hokan: Karok *vik* 'weave,' Yana *waga-* 'twine a basket.'

• [P208, H159]

638 SEW$_2$ **k'^{w}ači*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-kwaːči, *-kwaːʔso.*

Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *č'uši,* Tunica *šuhči.*

Chibchan: Ika *kud^z-ən.*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Paez *kac*; Proto-Choco **k^{h}aː-*, Wounaan *k^{h}a-*, Epena *k^{h}aː-.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *kïʔṣï-.*

639 SHADOW **mani*

Paezan: Itonama *manis-* 'be in the shadow,' Atacama *minas.*

Macro-Carib: Witoto *manaide,* Trio *amali-li.*

• [CP166, MC57]

640 SHE **i-gau*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **i-go-ro* ∼ **ti-go-ro.*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **i-gaï.*

• **i-* and **ti-* are general third-person pronouns (Cf. Proto-Witotoan **i-* 'it,' **i-(b)ai* 'he,' Proto-Tucanoan *ati-ro* 'he,' *-gɨ̃* 'he'); **-gau* is the marker of the feminine gender.

641 SHELL (v.) **ʔiksu*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔɨks* 'shell corn.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **išku-.*

642 SHINE **lemp*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *wlʔeplʔ* 'lightning.' Zuni *lomo* 'flash, burn

brightly.' Gulf: Atakapa *lam*; Natchez *lem.* Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *neʔm*; Mayan: Yucatec *lemba* 'shine, lightning,' Tzotzil *lemlaɣet* 'lighten,' Mam *lemlohe.*

Andean: Aymara: Aymara, Lupaca *lupi* 'sun.' Catacao *nap.* Cholona: Cholona *nem* 'day,' Hivito *nim, ñim, ngim* 'sun.' Quechua: Cochabamba, etc. *ʎup^{h}i* 'shine.' Yamana: Yamana *löm,* Yahgan *löm, lön* 'sun.' Zaparo: Iquito *yanamia, nunami, inami* 'fire.'

• [A226] Cf. LIGHTNING above.

643 SHOOT **t'uya*

Penutian: Oregon: Kalapuya *t'uwan, t'iuwiš* 'arrow.' Plateau: Sahaptin *tuχwən,* Modoc *tewi.* California: Proto-Yokuts **t'uy(u),* Miwok: Bodega *tuwe,* Lake Miwok *t'uw*; Costanoan: Rumsien *tio,* San Juan Bautista *tio-s* 'arrow.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *tuh,* Zoque *tuh.*

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **taya,* Barbacoan: Cayapa *tyaʔ-ke* 'throw,' Warrau *toa* ∼ *tia* 'throw.'

• [P213, CP168]

644 SHOULDER$_1$ **tala*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *telya.* Mosan: Salish: Nisqualli *talak^w,* Siciatl *salaq-ən,* Songish *t'ɛlaw'* 'wing.'

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **te(h)leb,* Proto-Quichean **teleb'.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i-ta(l^y)* ∼ **i-ṭa(l^y)* 'shoulder, hand, arm,' Achomawi *tala* 'shoulder blade.' Salinan: San Antonio *itaʔl,* San Miguel *etaɬ.* Yana: North Yana *dul* 'neck.'

Chibchan: Lenca *thala* 'neck.'

Macro-Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **-moːtaːli,* Proto-Taranoan **mota,* Pemon *mota.*

• [A228] This root is also found in Dravidian and Altaic (Ruhlen 1994g).

645 SHOULDER$_2$ **peko*

Chibchan: Tarascan *pešo.*

Paezan: Itonama *pču-kaka,* Colorado *behči* 'back.'

Macro-Carib: Yagua *upeko* 'neck,' Faii *mex-pikua* 'chest,' Ocaina *bagoːʔja* 'chest.'

• [CP170, MC10]

646 SIBLING **kani*

Andean: Culli *kañi* 'sister,' Cholona *akiñiu* 'sister.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *kani* 'brother,' Choroti *kiːni* 'brother.'

• [AN101, MP16]

647 SIDE **čan*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-ča.*
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **čaːǰa,* Proto-Siouan **sãni-.*
Penutian: Proto-California Penutian **čan.*

648 SING **siya*

Hokan: Achomawi *eːs.* Seri *k-oːs.* Subtiaba: Tlappanec *na-ʔsya* 'dance.' Tequistlatec *šow.* Yuman: Tipai *šiyaw,* Kahwan *suyaː-t.*
Macro-Carib: Witoto *se* 'dance.' Yagua: Yameo *seye* 'dance.'
• [A229]

649 SIT$_1$ **ču*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *či-* ∼ *če-* ∼ *čo-* 'sit (sing.)'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ču.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *cu,* Cayapa *čuna*; Choco: Darien *čʰũ-* ∼ *čʰume-*, Catio *heweda ču-bɨa*; Itonama *čaʔu.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **ǰũ(ʔ)hĩ.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **caʔo-.*
• [CP174]

650 SIT$_2$ **ni*

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *en(-na)* 'be.' Puinave: Ubde-Nehern, Papury *niː* 'be, live.' Ticuna *niʔĩ* 'be.' Tucano *niː* 'be' (*estar*).
Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Abipone *añi.* Lule [aːny] 'stoop.' Mataco: Enimaga *aneho.* Proto-Tacanan **ani.*
Macro-Ge: Botocudo *nep.* Caraja *nə̃.* Proto-Ge **ñĩ, *ñĩr.* Kaingang: Came *nin,* Dalbergia *nɛ,* Guarapurava *ni.* Kamakan *one* (imperative). Mashakali *ñĩm.*
• [A230]

651 SIT$_3$ **ʔuwa*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *wi* 'seated,' Caddo *ʔawi* 'sitting.' Proto-Keresan **ʔʊ* 'dwell.' Siouan: Catawba *waʔ.*
Hokan: Achomawi: Atsugewi *we-* 'by sitting on.' Chimariko *-wo-, wa-* 'by sitting.' Subtiaba *t-aːu* (*t* = factative). Yana *wa.* Yuman: Tonto *oa,* Walapai *ua,* Kiliwa *ouau, huwa.*
• [A231]

652 SIT$_4$ **t'aq*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *ateki* 'it sits there'; Yurok *cek.* Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka, Nitinat *t'iqʷ-iɬ*; Chemakuan: Chemakum *t'aq.*

Andean: Qawasqar *sakkar, šakar.* Cholona *a-tg-an* 'be seated.' Cahuapana *zukör.* Leco *seča.* Quechua: Caraz *ta:ki.* Yamana: Yahgan [ytakona].
• [A232]

653 SIT$_5$ **iku*

Almosan: Kutenai *qa* 'be.'
Keresiouan: Yuchi *k'u* 'dwell,' Proto-Siouan **amã-ki* 'sit on ground' (**amã* = 'ground'). Caddoan: Arikara *ku.*
Penutian: Klamath *či, ča,* Yuki *šai* 'live,' Chinook *š-* 'be,' Cakchiquel *ša* 'be.'
Hokan: Seri *-ix-,* Subtiaba *-iʔiguʔ.*
Andean: Iquito *i:ki:* 'be,' Ona *ke* 'be,' Quechua *ka* 'be.'
• [AK171, P217, H128, AN14]

654 SKIN$_1$ **toke*

Andean: Cahuapana *ütek* 'lip.' Leco *bu-suče.* Patagon: Patagon [zog] *cog,* Tsoneka *sug* 'hide,' Tehuelche *zek.* Zaparo *cokwe.*
Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Mataco *t'ah,* Chulupi *tax, tox.*
Macro-Ge: Caraja *takə.* Chiquito *i-taki-s.* Mashakali: Macuni *točai.*
• [A233]

655 SKIN$_2$ **pakti*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **pisčanani.* Siouan: Catawba *pis.*
Penutian: Tsimshian *mas* 'bark.' Chinook *pxa* 'alder bark.' Plateau: Yakima *psa* 'bark,' North Sahaptin *pəx* 'skin,' Nez Perce *pekt* 'fish skin.' Gulf: Natchez *habeš, ebeš* 'bark'; Muskogean: Alabama *afakči* 'bark.' Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *boš* 'bark,' Pokomchi *pas* 'bark.'
Hokan: Chimariko *hi-pxaǰi* 'skin, bark.' Chumash: Santa Ynez *paχ,* Santa Barbara *pax.* Seri *-biɬ'.* Washo *basi* 'to skin, flay.'
• [A234]

656 SKIN$_3$ **čom*

Penutian: Gulf: Yuki *ol-šo* 'bark' (*ol* = 'tree'), Chitimacha *suʔu* 'bark, skin.' Mexican: Totonac *šuwaʔ* 'bark.'
Hokan: Tonkawa *-som-,* Tequistlatec *l-išmi.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Maku *čimo,* Ticuna *čame.*
• [P13, H130, MT81]

657 SKIN$_4$ **k'^{w}ati*

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *kuti,* Move *kuata,* Cacaopera *k'uta,* Yanomamï *kasi* 'lip.'

Paezan: Atacama *k'ati,* Paez *kati,* Timucua *ukwata* 'body, flesh.'
Macro-Ge: Botocudo *kat,* Mashubi *či-kati* 'lip.'
• [CP175, MG100]

658 SKIN$_5$ **pai*

Andean: Mayna *-pa,* Yamana *api,* Jebero *pi* 'body.'
Macro-Ge: Coroado *pe* 'bark,' Guato *i-fai* 'bark.'
• [AN102, MG6]

659 SKIN$_6$ **pici*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **piːci* 'buckskin,' **pisč'anani* 'skin.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **po.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pi.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pe* ∼ *po* 'body hair.'
Andean: Yamana *api* 'skin, body,' Mayna *-pa,* Cahuapana: Jebero *pi* 'body.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **βiči,* Proto-Tacanan **e-biti.*
Macro-Ge: Guato *(ma-)fæ,* Puri: Coroado *pe.*
• [AN102, MG6]

660 SKIN$_7$ **pol*

Hokan: Jicaque *p^{h}olok.* Tequistlatec *-biɬ.*
Equatorial: Chapacura: Quitemo *pari-če,* Tora *tu-para.* Guahibo: Guahibo *pera-bo,* Cuiva *pera-i.* Kariri *buro* 'bark.' Maipuran: Karif *bura.* Otomaco *ae-par.* Tupi: Guaraní *pire,* Sheta *ipire,* etc. Yuracare *pele.*
• [A19]

661 SKUNK **šika*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **šekaːkwa.*
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **s-k-i,* Proto-Gulf **šiki.*

662 SKY$_1$ **hewlak*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **huwak'a.*
Penutian: Proto-Sahaptian **hewleːk.* Gulf: Atakapa *lak.*

663 SKY$_2$ **ʔapal*

Penutian: Gulf: Tunica *ʔaparu* 'heaven.' Mexican: Mayan: Tzotzil *-bail* 'above,' Huastec *ebal* 'above.'
Hokan: Yahi *-bal-* 'up from the ground,' Karok *ʔipan* 'top,' Comecrudo *apel* 'above, heaven.'
• [P220, H155]

664 SLAP$_1$ *t^laq

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *t^laq-, Proto-North Wakashan *t^laq-, Haisla t^laq'ala 'noise of slapping (as when a beaver keeps hitting the water with its tail.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *laqya-.

665 SLAP$_2$ *lapa

Penutian: Zuni łapapa. Gulf: Tunica láhpa.
Hokan: Proto-Hokan *laP ∼ naP.

666 SLEEP$_1$ *cima

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan *-si.
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *cimsimt (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).
Hokan: Proto-Hokan (K) *(a/i)sima, Proto-Hokan (L) *semaː, Karok ʔasiṽ, Proto-Pomo siːmañ, Kashaya simaq- South Pomo siːma; Seri sim; Shasta r-icmasaːkaʔ 'he is sleeping,' Washo elšɨm, Yanan: Central Yana sam, North Yana sab; Proto-Yuman *ṣma, Mohave isma, Havasupai smaːka.
• [H131]

667 SLEEP$_2$ *ʔitaw ∼ it'aw

Almosan: Proto-Salish *ʔit.
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Mohawk itaʔ, Seneca itaʔw ∼ ita, Tuscarora (i)tʔuh. Proto-Siouan *t'e 'die.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan *tuy. Proto-Yokuts *t^hawa$ṭ^h$ 'die,' Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *ʔeṭːɨ-. Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *t'i 'lie down,' Atakapa tiht ∼ tiw 'lie,' Chitimacha nat'i- 'lie down, be lying down,' Muskogean: Chickasaw tiʔwa 'be lying down.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *tiya- 'sit down.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe ituku.
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan *tawi-. Mascoian: Lengua tiyin.
• [AK173]

668 SLEEP$_3$ *ʔinu

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts *ʔana$ṭ^h$ 'dream.' Cf. Mutsun one 'sit down.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo hin 'sleep,' Coast Yuki in 'sleep.' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *nɔ 'lie down,' Atakapa niː 'lie down' (sg. subject); Tunica na, noː 'lay down'; Natchez nuː 'sleep,' newa 'be sleepy.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque əŋ 'sleep.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Maku-Puinave ʔɨ̃ũ.
Equatorial: Cofan anan-ye, ʔãnã. Piaroa: Saliba ainaː. Tupi: Guaraní añeno 'lie down,' Guayaki ñeno.

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Witoto *inu*, Coeruna *ko-ina*, Ocaina *önu*. Yagua *nɛ* 'hammock.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **ŋoː* 'lie down.' Vejoz *ni-mo*.

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *anu*, Umotina *unori* (n.), *inɔtu* (v.) Caraja *rõrõ*. Chiquito *ano*. Proto-Ge **nõ*, **nõr* 'lie down.' Kaingang: Guarapurava *nor*, Tibagi *nan* 'lie down,' *nang-ya* 'bed' ('lie down' + instrument), Dalbergia *nɔ* 'lie.' Kamakan *ha-nun* 'bed.'

• [A235]

669 SLEEP$_4$ **kanak*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **xən* 'lie flat.'

Hokan: Proto-Yuman *kanak* 'sit down.'

Paezan: Proto-Choco **k^{h}ãi-*.

Andean: Qawasqar *qonaq*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *xana*. Proto-Tucanoan **kãĩ-rĩ*, Tucano *kani*, Desana *kane*. Achuar *kanurtin*.

Equatorial: Jivaro: Aguaruna *kana*. Timote *keun*.

• [A236]

670 SLEEP$_5$ **ka* ∼ **k'o*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ka* 'sit down.' Proto-Tanoan **k'o* 'lie (down),' Taos *k'uo* 'lie down.'

Andean: Yamana *aka*, Aymara *iki*.

• [CA51, AN103] Perhaps part of the preceding etymology.

671 SMALL$_1$ **t'uk* ∼ **tik*

Hokan: Shasta *at'uk*, Jicaque *cikway*, Subtiaba *taxũ*.

Macro-Panoan: Culino *tukuča* 'short,' Suhin *tika*, Towothli *taːke* 'short.'

• [H133, MP56]

672 SMALL$_2$ **kunek*

Andean: Cholona *kunču* 'small.' Itucale *kuöinexi* 'short.' Patagon: Tsoneka *koneke* 'short,' Teuesh *koːnčenken* 'small.'

Equatorial: Kandoshi: Kandoshi *kania-ši* 'near,' Murato *kania-či* 'young.' Maipuran: Amuesha *kuñič*. Tupi: Maue *kũnĩĩ*, Arikem *kenin*, Siriono *akẽ* 'child.'

• [A227]

673 SMALL$_3$ **k'uti*

Penutian: Chinook: Wishram *k'ac*. Plateau: Klamath *k'ečča*. Proto-California Penutian **kut* 'little.' Yukian: Wappo *kut'iya*. Mexican: Huave *kičeːč*;

Totonac *akcu*; Mayan: Pokomchi *k'isa*, Tzotzil *kočol* 'weak.'

Hokan: Seri *kosot* 'narrow.' Tequistlatec *guʔušu* 'narrow.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Quitemo *kuči* 'thin.' Maipuran: Arawak *kicke* 'narrow.' Uro: Caranga *kos* 'thin.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *kuǰi*. Kaingang: Ingain *kutui*, Catarina *kaičidn*.

• [A254] Also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

674 SMELL$_1$ **matik'*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **mat*, **maci*; **miːs*. Kutenai *mac* 'dirty.' Proto-Mosan **mis-aː*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *mys-* 'smell,' Nootka *mis-* 'smell,' *mač* 'dirty,' Heiltsuk *misla*. Proto-Chemakuan **m'as-* 'nose, smell,' Chemakum *masa*, Quileute *basiʔ* 'bad,' *bas* 'dirty.' Salish: Proto-Coast Salish **məqsn* 'nose.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Cherokee *ga-wasə̃gə̃*. Keresan: Santa Ana, etc. *buṣʊ* 'have an odor.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *maʔtks* 'dirty, slimy.' Chinook *masači* 'bad.' Oregon: Yakonan *məcancinst* 'dirty,' Siuslaw *mik'a* 'bad.' California: Miwok: Bodega *ʔumučče* 'smell'; Costanoan: Mutsun, San Juan Bautista *muns* 'dirt.' Zuni *musmu*. Gulf: Natchez *mis-* 'stink,' *mak-* 'smell.' Mexican: Totonac *(ša-)mas(-niʔ)* 'rotten.' Cf. Huave *ne-ameːč* 'devil.'

Hokan: Chimariko *mičxu* 'stink.' Karok *imšakara* 'smell' (transitive). Pomo: North Pomo *miše* 'stink,' Southeast Pomo *mxe-* 'stink.' Salinan: San Antonio *meːs*. Shasta *ku-matik'-ik* 'it stinks.' Tonkawa *moskoy* 'stink.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **muski-* ∼ **mutki-*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **amiːc* 'nose.'

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **amɨ(-sa)*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **imiqː* 'nose.'

• [A238]

675 SMELL$_2$ **k'ukʷi*

Almosan: Mosan: Salish: Proto-Coast Salish **haqʷ*. Wakashan: Kwakwala *kxʷ* 'give off a smell,' Heiltsuk *q'hxʷ-* 'start to smell.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *kẽ* 'stink.' Keresan: Acoma *k'ui* 'be spoiled.' Siouan: Santee *kuka* 'be rotten,' Catawba *hakeː*. Cf. Caddoan: Pawnee *kahaːr* 'stink.'

Penutian: Chinook *-kux*. Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **hiːwi(s)*, Alsea *hkʸ-*. California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **huːk* ∼ **hukːɨ* 'nose,' Proto-Maiduan **hih*. Gulf: Proto-Yuki **k'uh-* 'smell, stink,' Wappo *kuh* 'stink.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **hɨp(ɨ)* 'nose.'

Hokan: Chimariko *xa*. Seri *k'eː* 'stink.' Proto-Yuman **hʷika*, Proto-Pomo **hiːla* 'nose,' Campo *xʷi*, Cocopa *xʷix*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔukʷ* ∼ **hukʷ* ∼ **hu* ∼ **hupa* 'smell' (transitive),"but Proto-Numic **ʔakʷĩ*, or even **ʔekʷĩ*, does not fit."

Paezan: Warao *huku* 'smell bad.'

Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *hu.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *kuika.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo *ko* 'stink (n. & v.)' Botocudo *kui* 'fragrance.' Kaingang *kãʔĩ.*

• [A239]

676 SMOKE **c'eka*

Almosan: Algonquian: Abenaki *ahsokʷ* 'cloud.' Salish: Upper Chehalis *šq* 'cloud.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **c'ekə* 'to smoke.'

Hokan: North Yana *c'ēk'au*, Southeast Pomo *caxa*, Esselen *čaxa*, Subtiaba *na-sīxa* 'to smoke.'

• [AK176, H134]

677 SNAKE$_1$ **kan*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **kenweːpikwa.*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *hskwan.*

Penutian: Oregon: Alsea *kʸinaq.* Plateau: ?Molala *kwala.* California: ?Proto-Yokuts **hoːnak'-* 'inchworm.' Gulf: Muskogean: Koasati, Hitchiti *šinti*, Choctaw *sint*, Creek *četto.* Proto-Mayan **kaːn*, Kekchí *k'anti*, Tzeltal *čan*, Tzotzil *čon*, Yucatec *kan*, Proto-Quichean **k'antiʔ.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **kʷa(h)(ʔ)(n).*

Chibchan: Rama: Guatuso *karan* 'worm.' Tarascan *karha-si* 'worm.'

Andean: Itucale *axkanu.* Sechura: Sec *kon-mpar.* Zaparo: Zaparo *kono*, Iquito *kuni.*

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **keni* 'worm.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *kono* 'rope.' Carib: Palmella *okon* (Carib generally *okoy, okey*). Witoto: Witoto *konega* 'rope,' Nonuya *konahə* 'rope.' Yagua *koli, koni.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **ṣɨna* 'worm,' Proto-Tacanan **ç̣ena* 'worm,' Proto-Panoan **ṣïna* 'worm.'

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **kaŋã*, Kaingang, Ingain, Amho *kundu.* Mashakali *kãnã(noc).* Opaie *kuni.* Puri: Coropo *kañun.*

• [A240]

678 SNAKE$_2$ **tampa*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **tama* 'rope.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **amTaB* 'earthworm.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *ta(k)bi.* Cuitlatec *nömi* 'worm.' Talamanca:

Boruca *tebek, tabek.*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **taːma,* Nonama *toma,* Waunana *tama,* etc. Jirajara *tub.* Warrau *huba.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **t'ep.* Puinave: Hubde *čop, toːp, teop* 'worm,' Puinave *čeb.* Ticuna *aʔtape.*

Equatorial: Maipuran: Arawak [tomy] 'rope,' Chontaquiro *tumuti* 'rope,' Bare *isemo* 'rope.' Proto-Tupi **cam* 'rope.'

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *tama* 'rope, string.'

• [A241]

679 SNAKE$_3$ **aq'^{w}i*

Almosan: Almosan: Proto-Chimakuan **yayw'a.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **ṣuːwiː.*

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **aːq'.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **Vwi,* ?**q^{h}eHwa,* Proto-Yuman **ʔawiː* ∼ **ʔuwiː* 'rattlesnake.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^{w}ic* 'worm.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *ak^{w}ici.* Proto-Aruak **aku* 'rattlesnake.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *awiwa* 'worm.' Iranshe *okup^{y}i* 'large snake.'

Equatorial: Achuar *aka* 'worm.' Piaroa: Saliba *ǰak^{w}i.* Proto-Maipuran **owi.*

Macro-Carib: Pemon *okoi.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **aqae(ː)di.* Lengua *yagyewa* 'viper,' *yewa* 'rattlesnake.'

680 SNAKE$_4$ **kamuc*

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **kumac,* Proto-Mixe-Zoque **kumu* 'worm.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q^{h}a^{m}pV* 'worm,' Proto-Yuman **xamʔaːviːr* 'water snake.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **ɨkɨymaʔ.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **kamoṣï.*

681 SNAKE$_5$ **nato*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **naːtaweːwa* 'pit viper,' Mohegan *nato* 'black snake.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-natõ.* Proto-Caddoan **nuːt.*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **naṭ^{h}iṭ^h* 'rattlesnake.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q^{h}yːd̪ɔ naːṭ̪V* 'rattlesnake, king snake, garter snake.'

Chibchan: Yanomam *natha* 'rope.'

• [AK177]

682 SNAKE$_6$ **pan*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *pini.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Bendiapa *ixpan,* Canamari *ipa.* Iranshe *upa.*
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *pan.*

683 SNAKE$_7$ **iyala*

Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *ula.*
Paezan: Timucua *iyola* 'snake, viper, serpent.' Barbacoan: Guambiano *ul.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *ɨyalala* 'large snake' (reduplication to indicate size).

684 SNAKE$_8$ **mete*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **medewe* 'coral snake.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *aʔmate* 'worm.'
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *meteʔ* 'worm.'
Macro-Carib: Pemon *moto* 'worm.'
Macro-Panoan: Moseten *mice* ∼ *miše* 'rope.'

685 SNAKE$_9$ **wek*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **weːχpuš* 'rattlesnake.' California: Proto-Yokuts **wek'wek'* 'worm.' Zuni *wi* 'worm.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *mïweki* ∼ *muwek^{y}eʔe* 'rattlesnake.'

686 SNAKE$_{10}$ **olaba*

Paezan: Timucua *yoruba* 'snake, viper, serpent.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *olobaʔwas* 'rattlesnake.'

687 SNAKE$_{11}$ **oro*

Chibchan: Yanomam *orukɨk.*
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **oro* 'worm.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **rono.*

688 SNAKE$_{12}$ **pusu*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **Puːsuːr̥̂V* 'snake, glass snake.'
Chibchan: Rama *pusuk* 'worm.'

689 SNAKE$_{13}$ **k'aʔ*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **sk'aʔaːǰu* 'bullsnake.'
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k'aʔx-an* ∼ **k'ax-an* 'rope, vein.'

690 SNAKE$_{14}$ **yupi*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **yuʔubɨ* 'worm.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *yup^{y}ɨri.*

691 SNEEZE **ʔasu-ka*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔsxa,* Oowekyala *hc'xa.*
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **ʔesu-ga* 'he sneezed.
Penutian: Gulf: Yuki *hač,* Tunica *ʔašu.*

692 SNOT **caʔm*

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **cahm.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **co(ʔ)m.*

693 SNOW$_1$ **yu*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **iyiw* 'snow, ice,' Proto-Pomo **ʔihyuʎ*, North Pomo *yuː*, Southeast Pomo *yu-l*, North Pomo *ʔiːhu*; Shasta *ʔiyuʔai* 'ice'; Yana: Yahi *d^{z}u-ri.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **yu.*
• [H136]

694 SNOW$_2$ **pon*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **pipoːne* 'winter,' Proto-Algonquian **mexponwi* 'snow,' **pepoːnwi* 'winter.'
Penutian: Plateau: Molala *peŋ.* California: Proto-Yokuts **p^{h}onp^{h}on.* Zuni *ʔu-pinna.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *puĩ.*
• [P226] Cf. Proto-Eskimo **apun* 'snow on ground.'

695 SOCIATIVE **mane*

Equatorial: Saliba *mane* 'around.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Tucano *mena* 'with, having'; Ticuna *mãʔã* 'with.'
• [G52]

696 SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER **t'ina* ∼ **t'ana* ∼ **t'una*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *(yi)-dān* ∼ *(yi)-dār* '(my) son, father,' *tse-k* ∼ *čī-k* ∼ *tsa-k* 'child'(< **tin-ki*), Yurok *ne-ta-c* 'my child,' *cān-ūk-s* 'young child,' *cin* 'young man,' *cic* (Robins) 'younger sibling' (< **tintin* or perhaps < **tin-ki*), *čič* (Gifford) 'very young sibling, very young child'; Proto-Algonquian **ne-tāna* 'my daughter,' Proto-Central Algonquian **-tāna-* 'daughter,' Blackfoot *ni-tána* 'my daughter,' Menomini *ni-tān* 'my daugh-

ter,' Cheyenne *nah-tōnna* 'my daughter,' Arapaho *na-tane* 'my daughter,' Atsina *na-tan* 'my daughter,' Proto-Algonquian **ne-tān-ehsa* 'my daughter' [=my-daughter-diminutive], Cree *ni-tān-is* 'my daughter,' Ojibwa *nen-tān-iss* 'my daughter,' Potawatomi *n-tan-əs* 'my daughter,' Fox *ne-tān-esa* 'my daughter,' Shawnee *ni-tān-eʔθa* 'my daughter,' Proto-Algonquian **ne-tān-kwa* 'my sister-in-law,' Ojibwa *nen-tān-kwe* 'my sister-in-law,' Fox *ni-tā-kwa* 'my sister-in-law'; ?Proto-Algonquian **nīʔ-tā-wa* 'my brother-in-law (man speaking),' Abenaki *na-dɔ̃-kw* 'my brother-in-law, my sister-in-law,' Cheyenne ?*tatan-* 'older brother' (< **tantan*), Blackfoot *tsi-ki* 'boy' (< **tin-ki*), Arapaho *na-tseno-ta* 'my nephew.' Kutenai *ga'-cʷɪn* 'daughter' (cf. Yuchi *go-t'o* 'child' [*go-* = 'human being'], *go-t'e* 'man'), *tsu* 'sister (of a girl),' *tat'* 'older brother,' *tsā* ∼ *tsiya* 'younger brother,' *tiʔte* 'granddaughter' (< **tintin*); Proto-Chimakuan **ts'in-* 'young, young man, young person,' Salish: Proto-Interior Salish **tikʷ-aʔ* 'aunt, father's sister,' Flathead *sín-ceʔ* 'younger brother (man speaking),' *tún-š* 'sister's children,' *tití-kʷe* 'woman's brother's daughter,' Lillooet *s-tūnə-q* 'niece,' Coeur d'Alene *tune* 'niece,' Columbian *šín-ča* 'younger brother,' *ti-kʷa* 'father's sister,' *tūn-x* 'man's sister's child,' Spokane *tūn-š* 'man's sister's child,' *łuwɛs-tɪn* 'deceased parent's sibling,' Lower Fraser *tān* 'mother,' Pentlatch *tan* 'mother,' *tet* 'boy,' Lkungen *nə-tan* 'mother.' Wakashan: Nootka *t'an'a* 'child,' *t'an'ē-ʔis* 'child' [= child-diminutive] Kwakwala *t'ana* 'blood relative,' Oowekyala *tān'i-ğui-ł* 'to be closely related to one's spouse.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **i-thā́-ki* 'man's sister (younger or older),' Dakota *taŋ-ke* 'man's older sister,' Santee *mi-tãn-ke* 'my sister,' Osage *i-tõ-ge* 'elder sister,' Quapaw *tã-ki* 'younger sister,' Kansa *wi-tõ-ge* 'younger sister,' Chiwere *taŋ-e* 'sister,' Biloxi *tã-ki* 'elder sister,' Tutelo *tahãk* 'sister'; Proto-Siouan **i-thā́-ka* 'woman's younger sister,' Mandan *tã-ka* 'younger sister,' Dakota *taŋ-ka* 'woman's younger sister'; Proto-Siouan **yī́-ki* 'son' (< Pre-Siouan **šī́-ki* < **thin-ki?*), Assiniboine *cĩ-k-ši* 'son,' Teton *tshĩ-k-ši* 'son,' Omaha *žī́-ge* 'son,' Biloxi *as-tĭ-ki* 'boy'; Proto-Siouan **yū́-ki* 'daughter' (< Pre-Siouan **šū́-ki* < **thun-ki?*), Assiniboine *cũ-k-ší* 'daughter,' Santee *tshũ-k-ší* 'daughter,' Osage *žṓ-ge* 'daughter,' Biloxi *as-tõ-ki* 'girl'; Proto-Siouan **thū́-wĩ* 'paternal aunt,' Dakota *toŋ-wiŋ* 'aunt,' Santee *tõ-wĩ* 'aunt,' Winnebago *čũ-wi* 'paternal aunt,' Biloxi *tõn-i* 'paternal aunt, son-in-law'; Proto-Siouan **thū́-kã* 'grandfather,' Assiniboine *tũ-gā́* 'maternal grandfather,' Santee *thũ-kā́* 'maternal grandfather,' Biloxi *tú-kã* 'maternal uncle,' *tan-do* 'woman's younger brother,' *a-di* 'father,' Quapaw *ĩ-do-ke* 'male,' Biloxi *i-to* 'male, man,' Mandan *i-se-k* 'male,' Iowa *tá-gwa* 'son-in-law.' Yuchi *-c'one* 'son, daughter (woman speaking),' *-tane* 'brother,' *-s'anɛ* 'man's son,' *go-t'ɛ̃* 'man, father,' *go-t'o* 'child,' *tu-kã* 'grandfather,' *wi-ta-ki* 'young man.' Caddoan: Caddo

tan-arha 'wife,' *dadin* 'his sister,' *dono* 'male,' Pawnee *i-tahri* 'his sister,' *ti-ki* 'boy, son' (< **tin-ki*), Arikara *i-tahni* 'his sister,' Adai *hā-siŋ* 'man.' Iroquoian: Cherokee *a-tsə̃* 'male of animals,' *ā-t'ɔn'ə̌*^{n} 'young woman,' *a-tsutsu* 'boy,' *e-dudu* 'grandfather,' Seneca *-a-tɛ̃̄n-ə̃te-* 'to be siblings,' *-tɛ̃no-ə̃ʔ-* 'to be parents-in-law,' *-a-tyoh* 'sibling-in-law,' Onandaga *ho-tonia* 'baby,' Cayuga *htsiʔ* 'older sibling,' *-a-tẽhn-õtēʔ* 'to be siblings,' Mohawk *-ʔtsin* 'male, boy,' *-a-ten-oʔsə̃-* 'brothers and sisters, to be siblings,' *-a-tyo-* 'brother-in-law,' *thə̃ -th-* 'aunt,' *-a-thũ-wisə̃* 'woman,' ?*-tsi-* 'older sibling,' ?*-a-te-re-* 'grandchild.' Keresan: Keres *-t'aona* 'sister.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *ɬuk-taēn* 'grandchild,' ?Gitksan *diː-kw* 'daughter, sister (woman speaking)'; Oregon: Takelma *t'ī*^{y}- 'man, male, husband,' *t'ĩ-(t'k')* '(my) husband,' *c'a-* 'woman's brother's child, man's sister's child,' Tfalti *čaŋ-ko* 'man,' Coos *te*^{u} 'nephew,' Siuslaw *tīɬ* 'niece,' *t'āt* 'nephew' (< **t'an-t'an*); Plateau: North Sahaptin *p-t'īn-ik-s* 'girl' (cf. the Yurok form for 'young child' cited above), *p-ta-χ* 'son's child,' *pi-tə-χ* 'maternal uncle,' *pám-ta* 'woman's brother's son,' Nez Perce *pi-t'ī́ʔn* 'girl,' *ʔin-ci-k'ī-wn* 'my wife's brother' (literally, "my-brother-reciprocal-wife"), *pā́m-tin* 'woman's brother's son,' ?*tá-qaʔ* 'maternal uncle,' Molale *pam-tin* 'nephew,' Cayuse *pnē-t'iŋ* 'my brother,' *i-tsaŋu* 'young'; Proto-California Penutian **tač* 'father' (< **tan-ki*), Wintun *te-* 'son, daughter,' *o-tun-če* 'older sister,' *tan-(če)* 'father, paternal uncle,' *tai-* 'nephew, niece, grandchild,' *tūtuh* 'mother' (< **tuntun*), *to-q-* 'sister-in-law,' Northwest Wintun *bi-čen* 'daughter'; Proto-Maiduan **tū́n* 'younger brother,' Nisenan *tüne* 'younger brother,' *ʔi-tīti* 'cousin' (< **ʔi-tintin*), *te*^{a}*nay* 'boy,' Proto-Maiduan **téh* 'child,' Maidu *té* 'son,' Proto-Maiduan **-tṓ* 'grandmother'; Yokuts: Yaundanchi *bu-tson* 'son,' *ṭaːṭi* 'man,' *t'uta* 'maternal grandmother' (< **t'untan*); Proto-Miwok **ʔá-ta* 'older brother,' Saclan *tune* 'daughter,' Lake Miwok *ʔa-táa* 'older brother,' Plains Miwok *tī-ka* 'sister, elder sister,' *ʔā-ti-* 'younger brother or sister,' *ʔa-ta-ci* 'older brother' (< **ʔa-tan-ki*), *tūne-* 'daughter,' *tete* 'mother's younger sister,' *tete-či* 'mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter'(< **tenten-ki*), Southern Sierra Miwok *tune-* 'daughter,' *tā́-čiʔ* 'older brother,' Central Sierra Miwok *ṭūni* 'small, young,' *-tū́ne* 'daughter,' *tā́-či* 'older brother,' *a-če* 'grandchild,' *a-te* 'younger brother, younger sister,' *tḗte* 'older sister'; Costanoan: San Francisco *ta-ka* 'brother,' *šen-is-muk* 'boy' (MALE-DIMINUTIVE-CHILD?), Ohlone *tanan* 'older sister,' *cinin* 'daughter, child,' *ta-ka-m* 'older brother,' Santa Cruz *tānan* 'older brother,' *ū-te-k* 'younger sibling,' *sinsin* 'nephew,' Rumsen *-tān* 'older sister,' San Juan Bautista *ta-ka* 'older brother,' Rumsen *tana* 'older sister,' *tá-ka* 'older brother,' Mutsun *šin-ie-mk* 'boy,' *ṭuta* 'young man,' *ta-ka* 'older brother,' *tic-tan* 'daughter-in-law'; Zuni *tač-ču* 'father' (< **tan-ku*); Gulf: Yuki *ʔā-ṭ'át* 'man,' *-c'ína* 'daughter's husband,' *-c'í-hwa* 'husband's brother,' *-c'í-*

hwa-pi 'wife's sister, husband's sister,' Wappo *taʔa* 'mother's younger brother,' Coast Yuki *di-ke* 'older sibling,' Natchez *tsitsī* 'infant' (< **tintin*), *hi-dzina* 'nephew,' Chitimacha *tāt'in* 'younger brother or sister,' *ʔa-si* 'male,' Atakapa *c'on* 'small, young,' *ten-s* 'nephew,' *ten-sa* 'niece,' *teñ* 'mother,' Tunica *šī* 'male,' *htóna-yi* 'wife,' Koasati *ci-ka* 'elder son,' *ā́-ti* 'person,' *ci-ka-si* 'younger son,' *ā́-to-si* 'infant child'; Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *a-tan* 'wife,' Lacandon *i-tsin* 'younger brother,' Chorti *(w-)ih-tān* 'sibling,' *(w-)ih-c'in* 'younger sibling,' Cholti *i-tan* 'sister,' Proto-Cholan (Fox) **ih-tan* 'man's older sister, man's older female cousin,' Chol *ih-tiʔan* 'man's sister,' *čok-tuiun* 'boy,' Huastec *canū-b* 'aunt,' Ixil *i-c'an* 'aunt,' Pokomchi *ī-c'in-* 'younger sibling,' *i-can-naʔ* 'aunt,' Pocomam *iš-tan* 'girl' (*iš* = female), Kakchiquel *iš-tan* 'señorita,' *a-čin* 'man,' Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil **ʔih-c'in* 'man's younger brother, woman's younger sibling,' **ʔi-čan* 'maternal uncle,' Tzeltal *čučuʔ* 'grandmother,' Aguacatec *ču* 'grandmother,' Ixil *c'uy* 'grandmother,' Kekchi *naʔ-čin* 'grandmother,' Mam *ču* 'mother,' Ixil *čuč* 'mother,' Quiché *ču* 'mother,' Chontal *i-c'in* 'younger sibling,' *i-čan* 'father-in-law,' *čič* 'older sister'; Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *hā-thuŋ* 'father,' Sayula *čuʔ-naʔ* 'father-in-law,' Texistepec *tene-īap* 'man,' Mixe *tat* 'father,' *ta-gh* 'mother,' *ats* 'elder brother,' *ïts* 'younger brother,' *uts* 'younger sister,' *tsyö* 'elder sister,' *tsu-gu* 'aunt,' Totonac *t'ána-t* 'grandchild.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan (Kaufman) **(ā)t'u(n)* 'brother,' **-č'i* (diminutive) (< **-t'in*?), Karok *tunuè-ič* 'small,' Arra-arra *atic* (< **a-tin-ki*) 'grandson, paternal grandparent'; Shasta: Shasta *ʔā́-ču* 'older sister,' *a-ču-gwi* 'younger sister, younger female cousin,' Konomihu *ču-ka* 'boy'; Palaihnihan: Achomawi *a-tūn* 'younger brother,' *a-tā(-wi)* 'daughter,' *ōt'* 'daughter-in-law,' *čini* 'maternal uncle,' *-tsan* (diminutive); Yanan: Northern Yana *t'inī* 'to be little,' *t'inī-si* 'child, son, daughter,' Yahi *t'i'nī-si* 'child, son, daughter'; Proto-Pomo **cu-c'i* ∼ **ce-c'i* 'mother's brother,' **ṭ'á-qi* 'younger sibling,' **ṭ^{h}ū́c'* 'mother's older sister,' Southern Pomo *ṭ'i-ki* 'younger sibling,' *aba-tsin* 'father's older brother,' *amu-tsin* 'father's sister,' Northeast Pomo *ṭ'i-ki* 'younger sibling,' *čunū-š* 'child' (cf. Chemakum *činni-s* 'sister'), *ti-ki-dai* 'older sister,' *tono* 'brother-in-law,' *tā'-č'i* 'maternal grandfather,' Central Pomo *de-ki* 'older sister,' *de-ki-dai* 'younger sister,' Eastern Pomo *tsets* 'mother's brother,' *tuts* 'mother's older sister,' Southeast Pomo *ʔi-m-sen* 'maternal uncle,' *ʔi-m-ce-x* 'paternal uncle,' *ʔi-m-cen* 'maternal grandfather,' *χá-c'in* 'sister's child,' *wi-m-t'a-q* 'younger sister,' *(du-)ṭ'a-q* 'younger brother,' Southwest Pomo *ṭ'i-ki* 'brother's son'; Washo *-ʔā́-t'u* 'older brother,' *wi-ts'u-k* 'younger sister,' *t'ánu* 'person'; Salinan-Chumash: Chumash: Ynezeño *tuʔn* 'son, daughter,' *(ma-k-)ič-tuʔn* '(my) son,' *čiči* 'boy,' Santa Barbara *taniw* 'little, child,' San Buenaventura *u-tinai* 'infant,' Santa Cruz *tunne-č* 'boy,' *huk-tana-hu*

'my son'; Esselen *tano-č* 'woman,' *tutsu* 'niece'; Salinan *a-t'on* ∼ *a-t^{h}on* 'younger sister,' *tani-l* 'granddaughter,' *ta-k* 'nephew, niece'; Yuman: Mohave *n-tai-k* 'mother,' *in-čien-k* 'older brother,' *n-athi-k* 'mother's older sister,' Yuma *an-cen* 'older brother,' Kamia *in-ča-čun* 'my older sister,' Havasupai *θa-wa* 'woman's sister' (< **tan-kwa*?); Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *ya-t'ān* 'sister,' *t'an-pam* 'child,' *t'aˑnaˑ-we* 'father (woman speaking),' *ma-t'ān* 'paternal grandchild,' *tza-t'an* 'maternal grandchild,' *kuan-t'ān* 'grandchild,' *ku-t'an* 'uncle,' *maki-t'ān* 'aunt,' *?t'atā-l* 'brother,' *can* 'small, young' (cf. Achomawi *-tsan* [diminutive]); Tlappanec *ada-tāh-wĩʔ* 'child'; Jicaque *tsi-kway* 'boy, child'; Yurumangui *ki-tina* ∼ *tintin* 'woman,' *a-ta-isa* (< **a-tan-isa*) 'sister.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tana* 'daughter, son,' Varahio *taná* 'son, daughter,' Tarahumara *rana* 'son, daughter'; Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tu* 'boy'; ?Proto-Uto-Aztecan **sun* ∼ **son* 'woman,' Northern Paiute *tua* 'son,' *a-tsi* 'maternal uncle,' *to-go'o* 'maternal grandfather,' *?taŋ-ʔwa* 'man,' Southern Paiute *tua* 'son'(< **tona-*, according to Sapir), *cinA-nI* 'mother's younger brother,' Mono *tuwa* 'son,' *cu-ku* 'old man,' Tübatulabal *tena* 'man,' *?tôhan* 'father's younger brother,' *u-tsu* 'maternal grandmother,' *tu-gu* 'brother's wife,' Kawaiisu *tuwaːna* 'son,' *to-go* 'maternal grandfather,' *šinu* 'maternal uncle,' Northern Diegueño *e-čun* 'paternal uncle's daughter, maternal aunt's daughter,' Luiseño *tuʔ* 'maternal grandmother,' *tuʔ-mai* 'woman's daughter's child' (*-mai*=diminutive), *šuŋáa* 'woman,' Cahuilla *ne-suŋa-mah* 'my daughter,' Serrano *-ṣuŋ* 'daughter,' *čič* 'woman's sister's son-in-law' (< **tintin*), Pipil *-tsin* (diminutive), *pil-tsin* 'boy, son' (cf. Tewa *ebile* 'child'), Nahuatl *ten-tzo* 'younger brother,' *tzin* (diminutive), *min-ton-tli* 'great grandson.' Tanoan: Kiowa *tãʔ* 'sister, brother,' *nɔː-tɔ̃ː* 'my brother,' Hano *tutu'uŋ* 'paternal uncle,' *t'ete* 'maternal grandfather,' Tewa *ti'u* 'younger sibling,' *t'ūnu* 'maternal uncle,' *t'et'e* 'maternal grandfather,' *tũʔɛ* 'nephew, niece' (< **tun-ke*), *sēŋ* 'man, male,' *sũn-tsi* (< **tun-ki*) 'intimate friend, chum,' Taos *añ-t'út'ina* 'my older sister,' *ñɬi-tona* 'wife,' *añ-tāna* 'kin of wife,' San Ildefonso *-tiu* 'younger sibling,' Isleta *tiyū* 'younger sister.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **sehn* 'male,' **suhn* 'female,' Proto-Central Otomi **šũ-ci* 'girl' (< **t'un-ki*?), **cũ* 'female,' Chichimec *-čõ* 'female,' Mazahua *t'i-ʔi* 'boy' (< **t'in-ki*), Otomi *t'i-xṹ* 'daughter,' *ʔi-dã́* 'woman's brother,' Mazatec *č^{h}ũ* 'woman,' *ču-kwhã* 'aunt,' *in-ta* 'son,' Chatina *cunõ-hõ* 'woman'; Proto-Oto-Manguean **ntaHn* 'mother,' **ʔntan* 'child,' **taʔn* 'sibling,' Mixtec *tãʔã* 'sibling,' *táʔnù iʔšá* 'younger sister' (*iʔšá* = 'child'; cf. Proto-Algonquian **-tān-ehsa* 'daughter'), *du-ʔwi* 'aunt,' Trique *du-ʔwẹ* 'aunt,' Cuicatec *ʔdíínó* 'brother,' Popoloca *chyān* 'child, son,' Chinantec *tsañi-h* 'man,' Zapotec *p-taʔn* 'woman's brother'; Proto-Oto-Manguean **si(ʔ)(n)* 'youngster,' Popoloca *čin-ka* 'little (of animals),' Proto-Otomi **ci* 'small

(of animals and humans),' Proto-Chatino **šiñVʔ* 'son,' Isthmus Zapotec *žiʔiñiʔ* 'son,' Proto-Chinantecan **sīʔ* 'child.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *cucu* 'grandmother' (< **tuntun*), Cuitlatec *ču* 'boy,' *čanu-i* 'my wife,' Xinca *u-tan* 'mother,' *tatan* 'father,' Lenca *tuntu-rusko* 'younger sister,' *ū-t'ā́ne* 'father,' Sumu *i-tanni* 'mother,' *ti-tin-ki* ∼ *ti-tan-ki* 'my grandmother,' Miskito *tuk-tan* 'child, boy,' *tah-ti-ki* 'my maternal uncle (woman speaking),' Corobisi *tun* 'man,' Rama ^{n}*du-tuŋ* 'younger brother,' *i-tūŋ* 'father,' *tau* 'baby,' Changuena *sin* 'brother,' Move *nge-dan* 'brother-in-law,' *dun* 'father,' *ni-dan* 'male,' Sanema *ul-dwīn* 'child,' *ur-dwīn* 'boy,' *haš-twī́n* 'grandfather,' *píiši-dwīn* 'mother-in-law,' Shiriana *tasém-taiːna* 'child,' Ulua *i-taŋ* 'mother,' Cuna *tuttu* 'woman,' *toto* 'small girl,' Atanque *ah-töna* 'old, old man, old woman,' Guamaca *tana* ∼ *tena* 'old,' *terrua-töna* 'old man,' *mona-töna* 'old woman,' Kagaba *tu-gua* 'grandchild,' ?*suk-kua* 'son,' ?*du-we* 'elder brother,' Chimila *tún-gva* 'friend,' Binticua *ču-ka* 'grandchild,' *a-ta-ka* 'old woman,' Guamaca *a-tena-šina* 'old woman,' Motilon *diani* 'wife,' *a-te-gwa* 'nephew,' Dobokubi *a-te-ki* 'father,' *ti-kwa* 'young man,' Chibcha *čune* 'grandchild,' Muyska *te-kua* 'boy, young man,' Tegria *su-ka* 'sister.'

Paezan: Citara *tana* 'mother,' Tucura *dana* 'mother,' Warrau *dani-yota* 'mother's older sister,' *dani-katida* 'mother's younger sister,' Chami *tana* 'mother,' ?Guambiana *i-ču* 'woman, wife,' Paez *ne-čī-k* 'son' (< **ne-tin-ki*), *ne-tson* 'brother-in-law,' *n-duh* 'son-in-law,' *anš-tsun-kue* 'grandchild,' ?Totoro *i-šu-k* 'wife,' ?Nonoma *doana* 'son-in-law,' Cayapa *cuh-ki* 'sister' (< **tun-ki*), Colorado *sona(-sona)* 'woman,' *suna-lat-suna* 'wife,' *so-ke* 'sister,' Eten *čan-ka* 'sister,' *sonä-ŋ* ' wife,' Chimu *čaŋ* 'younger brother, nephew,' *čuŋ* 'sister,' Millcayac *tzhœng* 'son.'

Andean: Simacu *kax-ðana* 'maternal uncle,' Iquito *i-ta-ka* 'girl,' Mapudungu *coñi* 'woman's son' (cf. Yuchi *c'one* 'woman's son'), Aymara *tayna* 'first-born of either sex,' *t'ini* 'a woman near to her delivery,' Tehuelche *den* 'brother,' *thaun* 'sister,' Patagon *čen* 'brother,' Pehuenche *a-cena* 'brother,' *čeče* 'grandchild,' Manekenkn *ie-tog-te* 'brother,' Ona *tane-ngh* 'maternal uncle,' Tsoneka *ke-tun* 'sister,' Qawasqar *se-kwai* 'grandchild,' *se-kway-ok* 'grandmother,' *esna-tun* 'mother.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *atina* 'male relative,' *atuna* 'female relative'; Kaliana-Maku: Kaliana *tone* 'mother-in-law,' *tai-ge* 'brother,' Auake *toto* 'older brother,' Maku *tenu-'pa* ∼ *tenu-ba* 'son, daughter'; Puinave: Puinave *a-tī́i* 'my son,' *tẽĩ-ũaĩ* 'brother,' *a-tõaĩ* 'cousin,' *ali-tan* 'father-in-law, grandfather,' Tiquie *ton* 'daughter,' *ten* 'son,' *tenten* 'grandchild,' Yehupde *tẽ* 'child,' Nadobo *tata* 'child,' Dou *tute* 'child,' Papury *toŋ* 'daughter,' *ten* 'son,' *tein* 'wife,' *tong-teip* 'son-in-law,' Ubde-Nehern *têain* 'boy,' *ten* 'son,' *tetein* 'wife,' *tëteté* 'grandchild,' *tën-do* 'maternal uncle' (cf. Biloxi *tan-do* 'woman's younger brother'), *tëtón* 'niece'; Catuquinan: Bendiapa,

Parawa *iš-tano* 'woman'; Canichana *eu-tana* 'mother'; Huari: Huari *tãn* 'mother,' Masaca *tani-mai* 'younger sister'; Capishana *mia-tuna* 'older brother,' *totoi* 'brother-in-law,' *ña-tõ-küi* 'older sister,' *a-taʔ* 'aunt'; Nambikwara: Mamainde-Tarunde *denō* 'woman,' *čōnẽ* 'grandfather,' *(t)oán-osu* 'older sister,' Southern Nambikwara *tyũʔn* 'small,' Tagnani *tanande* 'mother,' *teno-re* 'woman,' *ui-tono-re* 'son'; Ticuna-Yuri: Yuri *čo-ko* 'man'; Tucanoan: Amaguaje *cin* 'boy,' *ye-tsen-ke* 'son,' Coreguaje *čĩiɨ* 'son,' *čĩio* 'daughter,' *aʔ-čɨ* 'elder brother,' *aʔ-čo* 'elder sister,' *čoʔ-yeɨ* 'younger brother,' *čoʔ-yeo* 'younger sister,' Siona *ciyn* 'son,' Yupua *tsīn-geẽ* 'boy,' *a-čane* 'man,' Tucano *ti-kã* 'son-in-law,' Tatuyo *teñë* 'brother-in-law.'

Equatorial: Trumai *tain* 'younger sister (man speaking),' *ta-kwai* 'younger brother (woman speaking),' Cayuvava *tete* 'uncle,' *tena-ni* 'woman,' Taruma *a-či* 'sister,' Yuracare *suñe* 'man,' Timote: Cuica *tin-gua* 'son, boy,' Mocochi *tin-gua* 'son, boy,' *nak-tun* 'woman'; Zamucoan: Morotoko *a-tunesas* 'girl'; Piaroa *tsehãũ* 'brother,' *tsẽã'nã* 'grandfather,' *čōno* 'grandfather,' *tsẽãnã* 'grandmother'; Jivaroan: Cofan *tzán-dey-dése* 'boy,' *tsandeye* 'man,' *tõʔtõ* 'uncle,' Esmeralda *tin* ∼ *tĩon* 'woman,' *tini-usa* 'daughter,' Yaruro *to-kwĩ* 'small boy,' *išĩ-to-hwĩ* 'small girl,' *ieyĩ-to-kwĩ* 'young woman,' *hia-to-kwi* 'maternal grandson,' *hada-to-kwi* 'paternal granddaughter,' Kariri: Dzubucua *to* 'grandfather,' Kamaru *te-ke* 'nephew, niece,' Kariri *to* 'grandfather,' Tupi: Guayaki *tuty* 'paternal uncle, sister's son,' Digüt *ðánoͤă* 'younger sister,' Ramarama *i-te* 'brother,' Amniape *o-ta* 'daughter,' Kamayura *u-tu* 'grandmother,' Sheta *kuña-tai* 'young woman,' Canoeiro *kuña-tain* 'small girl,' Tapirape *ã-tãi* 'female infant,' *kot-ãtãi* 'young girl,' Urubu-Kaapor *taʔɨn* 'child,' Tembe *tü̃-kü̃hü̃r* 'older brother,' *tü-h̃uhü̃r* 'younger brother,' *coai-tü̃* 'brother-in-law,' *a-tiu* 'father-in-law,' Emerillon *tsitsiʔ* 'younger sister,' *dzadza* 'older sister,' Arikem *u-taua* 'brother,' Cocama *ɨkra-tsüng-ra* 'child,' Guarani *tatyu* 'maternal father-in-law,' *tuty* 'uncle,' Aweti *a-tu* 'grandfather,' Uruku *toto* 'grandfather,' Manaže *tutṹ* 'paternal uncle,' Oyampi *tu-ku* 'younger brother'; Guahiban: Guahibo *ā-tō* 'elder brother'; Guamo *tua* 'daughter'; Coche *tan-gua* 'old man'; Arawan: Deni *tu* 'daughter,' *daʔu* 'son,' Paumari *a-thon-i* 'granddaughter,' *ā-dyu* 'older brother'; Chipayan: Uru *thun* 'wife,' *(t)soñi* 'man,' Chipaya *thun* 'wife,' *t'uana* ∼ *txuna* 'woman,' *t'uñi* ∼ *tsuñi* 'brother's wife (man talking),' Caranga *t^{h}un* 'wife,' *čuñi-l* 'brother-in-law,' *tuto* 'grandchild'; Chapacuran: Chapacura *tana-muy* 'daughter,' *a-čoke-tunia* 'girl,' Itene *tana* 'woman,' *tana-muy* 'girl,' *tana-man* 'woman,' Abitana *tana* 'woman,' Kumana *tana-man* 'woman'; Proto-Maipuran **ahšeni* 'man' (< **aʔ-teni*?), Amuesha *ah-šẽñ-ō(š)* 'male,' Ignaciano *a-čane* 'person,' Asheninca *a-šeni-nka* 'fellow countryman,' Marawa *tino* 'small child,' *tana-n* 'woman,' Wapishana *iĩ-dan(e)* 'child,

son, daughter' *u-dan-rin* 'daughter,' *ĩ-dan-karo* 'nephew,' *ĩ-dan-kearo* 'niece,' *douani* 'lad,' *i-dĭni-re* 'son-in-law,' *i-dĭni-ru* 'daughter-in-law,' *teti* 'maternal uncle,' Uainuma *a-ttsiu* 'uncle,' Moxo *a-ču(-ko)* 'grandfather,' Proto-Maipuran **čɨna-ru* 'woman,' Baure *e-tón* 'woman,' Palicur *te* 'younger brother,' *tino* 'woman,' *tana-n* 'woman,' Karipura *tina-gubari* 'woman,' Custenau *tine-ru* 'woman,' *a-tu* 'grandfather,' Uirina *a-tina-re* 'man,' Yaulapiti *tine-ru-tsu* 'girl,' *tina-u* 'woman,' Yavitero *nu-tani-mi* 'my daughter,' *no-taı̯n-tani* 'my son,' Baniva *no-tani* 'my son,' Mehinacu *tene-ru* 'woman,' *a-to* 'grandfather,' Waura *tine-ru-ta* 'girl,' *tɨné-šu* 'woman,' Arawak *o-tu* 'daughter,' *a-daün-ti* 'maternal uncle,' Manao *no-tany* 'my son,' *y-tuna-lo* 'woman,' Campa *cina-ni* 'woman,' *a-ten-dari* 'man,' Tuyoneri *ua-tone* 'old man, old woman,' Atoroi *dan* 'baby, son,' *dani-ʔinai* 'son,' *tidn* 'younger brother,' Goajiro *čon* 'son,' *tan-či* 'brother-in-law,' Bare *hana-tina-pe* 'child,' Ipurina *nu-tani-ri* 'my husband,' *ni-tari* 'my brother,' *ni-taru* 'my sister,' *n-atu-kiri* 'my grandfather.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *tīna* 'a woman,' *tihi* 'mother, female child' (< **tin-ki*), Peba-Yaguan: Yagua *dēnu* 'male child,' Yameo *a-tin* 'man'; Carib: Surinam *tī-ʔwo* 'brother-in-law,' Macusi *taŋ-sa* 'girl' (cf. Atakapa *ten-sa* 'niece'), *ake-ton* 'old man,' Arara *enru-ten-po* 'small child,' Taulipang *a-ci-ke* 'older brother,' *aeke-toŋ* 'old person,' Galibi *tun* 'father,' Pavishana *tane* 'my son,' *tutu* 'grandfather,' Azumara *toto* 'man,' Bakairi *i-tano* 'grandfather'; Boran: Bora *tañaːče* 'my sister,' Imihita *tãã-ti* 'grandfather,' Muinane *i-to* 'paternal uncle'; Witotoan: Witoto *i-taño* 'girl,' *o-suño* 'aunt,' *i-su* 'paternal uncle,' Witoto-Kaimö *iu-suna* 'aunt, grandmother,' Nonuya *om(w)ŭ-tona* 'sister.'

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Mascoy *tanni-yap* 'sister-in-law,' Kaskiha *an-tũ-ye* 'woman's son,' Lengua *tawin* 'grandchild,' *a-tai* 'my grandfather'; Moseten: Moseten *čuñe* 'brother-in-law, paternal son-in-law,' Mataco: Sotsiayay *taão-kla* 'boy,' Mataco *čina* 'younger sister,' Vejoz *činna* 'younger sister,' Churupi *čin-yo* 'younger sister,' Towithli *tuna-ni* 'woman,' Suhin *tino-iče* 'young woman,' *suña* 'younger sister'; Panoan: Cashibo *ţanu* 'woman,' Cashibo *toa* 'child,' *didan* 'mother,' Shipibo *sanu* 'grandmother,' *tita* 'mother,' *sun-taku* 'young woman,' Sensi *čina-n* 'woman,' Panobo *ţon-tako* 'girl,' Arazaire *čina-ni* 'wife,' Mayoruna *šanu* 'grandmother,' *nso-ton* 'child,' *čuču* 'older sister,' *tsana* 'man,' Culino *ha-tu* 'brother,' *a-tsi* 'sister,' *mu-tun* 'old man,' Nocaman *tano* 'woman, wife'; Tacanan: Huarayo *čina-ni* 'woman,' Tacana *-tóna* 'younger sister,' *dúdu* 'older sister,' *u-tse-kwa* 'grandchild,' Huarayo *toto* 'man's brother,' Arasa *deana-wa* 'son,' *dodo* 'brother,' Chama *toto* 'uncle,' *čina-ni* 'wife,' Tiatinagua *čina-ni* 'wife.'

Macro-Ge: Erikbatsa *tsiʔn-kärar* 'small'; Oti *dondu-ede* 'woman'; ?Fulnio

efone-don-kia 'wife'; Guato *čina* 'older brother'; Caraja *wa-θana* 'uncle'; Bororo: Bororo *i-tuna-regede* 'child,' Umotina *yũto* ∼ *in-dondo* 'maternal son-in-law,' *žu-ko* 'paternal father-in-law' (< **tun-ko*); Botocudo *giku-taŋ* 'sister,' *tontan* 'wife,' *gü-ǰune* 'brother-in-law'; Macuni *a-tina-n* 'girl, daughter,' Palmas *tantã* 'female,' *tanti* 'woman'; Kamakan: Cotoxo *či-ton* 'brother,' Kamakan *totsöhn-tan* 'mother,' Meniens *a-to* 'brother,' *as-čun* 'woman'; Puri: Puri *ek-ton* 'son,' *makaša-tane* 'brother,' *titiña-n* 'grandmother,' Coroado *mokaša-tane* 'brother,' Coropo *ek-tan* 'mother'; Mashakali: Mashakali *etia-tün* 'woman,' Malali *niop-tan-piteknan* 'woman,' *tana-tämon* 'father,' Patasho *eke-tannay* 'brother,' *a-tön* 'mother,' Capoxo *asče-tan* 'wife'; Kaingang: Apucarana *wey-tütan* 'younger sister,' *ti* 'man,' *un-tantan* 'woman,' ?Came *tata* 'woman,' Catarina *tata* 'young woman, young man, young,' Guarapuava *tetan* 'girl,' *un-tantan* 'woman,' Tibagi *tog-tan* 'girl,' *tantö* 'woman'; Ge: Timbira *tõ* 'older brother,' Apinaye *i-tõ* 'brother,' *i-tõ-dy* 'sister,' *tuʔ-ká* 'paternal uncle, son-in-law,' *tuʔ-ka-ya* 'maternal grandfather,' *tuʔ-ka-tí* 'brother-in-law, son-in-law,' Cayapo *i-ton* 'brother,' *i-ton-ǰuö* 'cousin,' *torri-tuŋ* 'old woman,' *tun-ǰuo* 'girl,' *ǰūno* 'father,' Aponegicran *i-thon-ghi* 'sister,' *i-thon-g* 'brother,' Krẽye *tana-mni* 'boy,' *tõ* 'younger brother,' *-tõ-ue* 'sister,' *n-čõ* 'father,' *n-čũ* 'paternal uncle,' Caraho *a-ton-ka* 'younger sister,' *tõ-i* 'sister,' *tõ* 'brother,' *ton-ko* 'older brother,' *n-čon* 'father,' *in-cun* 'uncle,' Krahó *ĩ-čũ* 'father,' *ĩ-če* 'mother,' *i-tõ* 'brother,' *i-tõ-i* 'sister,' Canella *i-nču* 'my father,' *i-nčeʔ* 'my mother,' *i-to* 'older sibling,' Parkateye *a-ton* 'brother,' *a-ton-kâ* 'older brother,' *a-ton-re* 'younger brother,' *a-toin* 'sister,' *a-toin-kâ* 'older sister,' *a-toin-re* 'younger sister,' Piokobyé *a-tõn* 'older sister,' *a-tõn-kä* 'younger sister,' *tõn-ko* 'older brother,' *ha-tõn* 'younger brother.'

• [A125, Ruhlen 1994f] Many of these forms appear with a reciprocal suffix, *-ki* or *-ko,* that is still productive in some languages, but has often become fossilized on the stem. See RECIPROCAL *ki* ∼ *ka.* There are also numerous other Amerind affixes that appear with this paradigm that are pointed out in the individual etymologies in this book.

697 SOUR **caq^{w}*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **wiːʔsakanwi* 'be bitter.' Mosan: Salish: Proto-Interior Salish **c'aq* 'sour, fermented.' Proto-Chimakuan **soyox^{w}-.* Wakashan: Kwakwala *cyχ^{w}-.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **sku-* 'bitter.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **cuk* ∼ *suk,* Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)se(h)(ʔ)* 'sour, bitter.'

Andean: Puelche *čakak* 'bitter.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **saku* 'sour, strong.'

698 SPEAK *weh

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *-owe: 'speak, voice,' *-wi 'say, reciprocal,' *ewa 'he says so.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian *-weh-, Tuscarora weh. Proto-Caddoan *-wa:-.
Penutian: Proto-Penutian *wVyV, Tsimshian wo: 'call,' wæ: 'name (v.),' Plateau: Nez Perce ten'-we: 'talk,' Sahaptin snwi 'talk,' Klamath swin 'talk.' California: Proto-Maiduan *wey.
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(H)we(H)(n) 'say, tell,' *(n)(H)wi(ʔ)(n) 'say, tell, converse.'

699 SPIDER$_1$ *ʔako

Almosan: ?Proto-Interior Salish *s-k'ay'(-t). Chimakuan: Quileute ʔaku. **[check this form]**.
Penutian: Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe hoʔotik, Sayula ohkohmon.
Hokan: Proto-Hokan *qɔk^{h}ə, Proto-Pomo *ʔik^{h}a(:) ~ *mik^{h}a:. Achomawi yʔaḥā, Shasta ʔaˈk^{w}iyaxa 'large spider,' Karok xaha, Chumash aiyaka, Subtiaba aˈxka, Seri -xox.
Central Amerind: Uto-Aztecan: Mono hohpoho, Kawaiisu hokwombi. Tanoan: Taos p'oʔõyo-na, Tewa ʔãʔwe.
Chibchan: Cuna akkwaser, Penomeño ogo, Murire yogo, Bribri yok.
Andean: Zaparo kaununaka.
Macro-Tucanoan: Siona yexe, Coto hẽʔhẽ, Auake eḥa(b). Kakua hagap.
Equatorial: Otomi conunyugu. Saliba eʔga.

700 SPIDER$_2$ *madi

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha *madi-k^{w}a.
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon modoi.

701 SPIDER$_3$ *q'al

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath q'alj̃ij̃ig, Proto-Sahaptian *χelχel, Sahaptin wa-χalχali, Nez Perce χelχelu:ye.
Hokan: Proto-Yuman *xaltot.
Andean: Qawasqar q'ales 'spider crab.'

702 SPRING$_1$ (season) *t'ica

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *t'i:ça 'springtime.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts *t^{h}isamuy.
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *taca 'summer.'

703 SPRING$_2$ (season) **tem*

Almosan: Proto-Coast Salish **təm* 'season when fish come and berries ripen.'
Penutian: Gulf: Atakapa *tempst*, Muskogean: Chickasaw *toːmi palli* 'summer' (*palli* = 'hot'), *toːmi pallit ištaya* 'spring' (*ištaya* = 'begin').
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tomo* 'winter.' Proto-Tanoan **tõ.*

704 SPRUCE **c'im*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **C'imC'im.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **c'ewa.*

705 SQUASH (n.) **q'ame*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **ko(me).*
Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **k'uʔm* 'green squash.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **χam*, Proto-Yuman **hamteʔ* 'pumpkin squash.'
Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **əmmɨ.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **kemi* ∼ **xemi.*

706 SQUEEZE **pic'* ∼ *p'ic*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **p'ih* ∼ *p'iʔ* ∼ *p'i-c'* 'squeeze,' *c'ip'* 'squeeze shut.'
Penutian: Gulf: Atakama *pac*, Tunica *pisa*, Muskogean: Chickasaw *piciffi.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan *pic'.*

707 STAB **c'aq^w-*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **c'ax^w-* ∼ *c'awa(x^w)-* 'stab, spear, punch,' Proto-Salish **ciq* 'stab, dig,' Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'x^w* 'stab, stick into.'
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **-šeḳ'-* 'pierce.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **C'oq.*
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *čukin'* 'stab, pierce.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **čaʔči* 'pierce.'

708 STAND$_1$ **tep*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **tep-.*
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **taːp.*

709 STAND$_2$ **nuka*

Almosan: Wakashan: ?Kwakwala *t^{l}nq-* 'standing (said of an inanimate object).'
Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **nãkV* 'standing, sitting.'
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **Nuka.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **nũkã.*

710 STAND UP *ta?

Keresiouan: Mohawk *ta?* 'stand up,' Yuchi *ta* 'stand.'
Penutian: California: Maidu *?oto.* Gulf: Tunica *to,* Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ta* 'stand, erect, post.'
• [AK180, P233]

711 STAR$_1$ *(a)sin

Hokan Achomawi: Atsugewi *asi:yi* 'day.' Chimariko *asi* 'day.' Esselen *asi* 'sun.' Seri *šax* 'day.' Yurumangui *sia:* 'heaven.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 280 **(n)(h)se(h)(n).* Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 413 **su, *cu* ("some forms come from **so, *co*").
Macro-Tucanoan: Auixiri *esa* ∼ *ösa* 'moon.' Tucano: Wanana *se, sĩ* 'sun, moon,' Waikina *axsẽ* 'moon.'
Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Guachi *oes* 'sun.' Proto-Panoan **?oṣɨ* 'moon.'
Macro-Ge: Chiquito *oši* 'flame.' Ge: Chavante *wašia,* Cherente *waši.* Mashakali: Mashakali *aši,* Macuni *asi, sai.* Oti *ašo* 'fire.'
• [A243]

712 STAR$_2$ *meca

Keresiouan: Keres *maṣa* 'light' (n.)
Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *pa:sta*; Muskogean: Choctaw *fičik.* Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *maca,* Texistepec *bac'a,* Tetontepec *ma:xc.*
Hokan: Salinan: San Antonio *maša-lak* 'morning star' (cf. Jicaque *lak-sak* 'sun,' a compound in which *lak* = 'glow' and *sak* = 'sun'). Yuman: Kiliwa *mesi,* Walapai *hamsi,* etc.
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 268b, M 268c **meca, *meya,* etc.
• [A244]

713 STAY (IN A PLACE) *man

Almosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ma-* 'dwell.'
Penutian: Tsimshian *mān* 'remain.' Oregon: Kalapuya *mānɨ-* 'wait.' California: Maidu *ma* 'be.' Zuni *?īma* 'sit.'
Hokan: Subtiaba *-ama* 'sit.'
Chibchan: Misumalpan: Cacaopera *ima* 'wait,' Puruha *ma* 'be.'
Paezan: Timicua *-ma* 'inside.'
Andean: Cholona *-man* 'in,' Aymara *mankxa* 'inside,' Mapudungu *minu* 'inside,' Quechua *ma-* 'be,' Yahgan *mani* 'be,' *yumanana* 'live' (with reduplication indicating continuous action),' *möni* 'remain,' *kamani* 'stand.'
Equatorial: Dzubucua *mañe* 'remain,' Otomi *yamania* 'live,' Paumari *gamanani* 'stand,' Coche *xamnan* 'be.'
Macro-Carib: Yagua: Yameo *mune* 'sit down,' Witoto: Ocaina *mūn?xo*

'remain,' Carib: Apiaca *umano* 'wait,' Pemon *man* 'be.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **mana* 'wait,' Cashinawa *mana* 'wait,' Shipibo *manei* 'remain,' Chacobo *man-* 'wait,' Panobo *manai* 'wait,' Lule *-ma* 'in.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *mẽn* 'remain,' Crengez *moiny* 'sit,' Capoxo *moinyam* 'sit,' Bororo *amũu* ∼ *amũi* 'to rest,' Cayapo *kaimaniun* 'stand,' *kaman* 'inside,' Tibagi *ema* 'dwell.'

• This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, Indo-European, Tungus, Caucasian, Basque, Burushaski, and Indo-Pacific (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

714 STEAL$_1$ **mera*

Paezan: Catio *mera,* Chimu *omor* 'thief.'

Macro-Carib: Muinane *meri-de,* Ocaina *muːro,* Yabarana *mərə* 'take!'

• [CP183, MC62]

715 STEAL$_2$ **k'^{w}awa*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **k'^{w}aw-.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-č'awa.*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k'ɔ* 'take, seize.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **k^{hw}iya* 'take.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **suwa.*

716 STICK (IN) **ɬaq^w*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Salish **ɬuʔ* 'stab,' Proto-Interior Salish **t^{l}aq'* 'stick in, prick.' Wakashan: Kwakwala *l'aχ^w-* 'stick out the tongue.'

Penutian: Zuni *ɬak^{w}i* 'stick in.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **laqa-* 'stick (v.).'

717 STOMACH$_1$ **to*

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ito.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **to.*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **ãtau* 'belly.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *tũmula.*

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **tu(m)* 'belly.'

• [A32]

718 STOMACH$_2$ **wak*

Hokan: Yuman: Maricopa *vaxa* 'intestines.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(ʔ)wa(h)(n)* 'stomach, heart.'

Equatorial: Achuar *wakɨ.*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **wakulu* 'stomach, intestine.'
Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *wukmo,* Proto-Waikuruan **wæqːumː* 'stomach, belly.'

719 STONE$_1$ **k'at^{l}a*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'ɬ-* 'stone, mineral.' Proto-Chemakuan **k'at^l'a* ∼ **k'at'ɬa.*
Andean: Mapudungu *kura.* Aymara: Aymara *k'ala,* Lupaca *kala,* Jaqaru *qala* 'rock.' Itucale *axeri.* Proto-Quechuan **qiʎay* 'mineral.' Qawasqar *kiella, čella.*
Equatorial: Kariri: Kariri, Dzubucua, Kamuru *kro.*
Macro-Ge: Ge: Krenje *akrã* 'hill,' Cayapo *krãi* 'mountain.' Kaingang: Catarina *kren* 'mountain,' Tibagi *krin* 'mountain,' etc. Kamakan: Cotoxo *kere, kri* 'mountain.' Fulnio *klila* 'hard.'
• [A245]

720 STONE$_2$ **cak*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *ck^w-* 'rock fence.'
Keresiouan: Caddoan: Caddo *siːko,* Adai *ekseka.* Keresan: Santa Ana *hisgai* 'knife.'
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **caːʔ.*
Hokan: Karok *šak* 'arrowpoint.' Salinan: San Miguel *čak* 'knife,' San Antonio *čik^h* 'knife,' *asak'a* 'flint.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **su(ʔ).*
Chibchan: Tarascan *caka-pu.*
Paezan: Chimu: Eten *čax* 'iron.' Paez: Totoro *šuk.* Barbacoan: Colorado, Cara *su,* Guambiana *śuk* ∼ *šux.*
Andean: Puelche *čuhe* ∼ *čihe.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *sögte.*
• [A246]

721 STONE$_3$ **tak*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **taː,* Takelma *ta-n.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **ta* 'stone, grinding stone.'
Chibchan: Guaymi: Chumulu *tukila* 'mountain.'
Paezan: Millcayac, Allentiac *toko.* Atacama *tok'-na* 'to stone.' Jirajara *dox.* Mura: Mura, Bohura *ati.*
Andean: Qawasqar *atak.* Gennaken: Gennaken *atuk* 'mountain,' Pehuelche *atek, atak.* Mayna *tiokn.* Sabela *dika.*
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **ita,* Tupi, Guarani, Sheta, Tembe, Kaapor, Siriono *ita,* Cocoma *itaki.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *etak, tekpai* 'rock.'

- [A246]

722 STONE$_4$ **got*

Paezan: Andaqui *guatihi.* Paez: Okoshkokyewi *k^{w}at,* Paez *kueθ,* Paniquita *kuet.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **gɨ̃tã-yo/ka.*
Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **goti.*

723 STONE$_5$ **k'^{w}ak'^{w}*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **s-ʔax^w* 'rock-slide, land-slide, snow-slide, slide (v.)'
Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **wak'* 'stone, flint, knife.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **kaːʔ,* Proto-Mixe-Zoque *kaʔc* 'stone (v.), throw at with stone.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i/a-)x^{y}aʔ.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)k^{w}a(h)(n), *(n)(h)ki(n)* 'stone, metal, iron, axe, bell.' Proto-Tanoan **k'ua.*
Chibchan: Cuna *akwa.* Proto-Chibcha **hai-ka,* Sinsiga *ahaka,* Tegria, Pedraza *aka,* Chibcha *hika.* Guaymi: Gualaca *aga,* Chumulu *hak,* Changuena *haga,* Move, Norteño, Penomeño *xo.* Proto-Aruak *hak,* Atanque *agina,* Cagaba *hagi.* Talamanca: Estrella, Cabecar, Chiripo *hak,* Terraba, Bribri, Tirub *ak,* Viceyta *xa.* Chimila *ha.*
Paezan: Paez: Okoshkokyewa *k^{w}at,* Paniquita *kuet,* Paez *kueθ.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Capishana *aki.* Koaia *aki.* Maku-Puinave *heː.*
Equatorial: Tupi: Wayoro, Tupari, Monde, Arua *ɛk,* Sanamaica *ɛ,* Kanua *heːk.*

724 STONE$_6$ **mak*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **me(ʔ)ke* 'stone railing.'
Chibchan: Yanoama: Yanomam *maːma,* Karime, Paucosa *mama,* Shiriana *mamake.*
Paezan: Proto-Choco **mok.*
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **mahpi.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **mãkan.*
Macro-Ge: Caraja *mama.*

725 STONE$_7$ **pake*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **pegemiːpi* 'stone knife.'
Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **pišwe* 'rock.'
Hokan: Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **pi.*
Chibchan: Misumalpan: Cacaopera *u apa,* Matagalpa *upa.* Chibchan: Manare *upaya.*
Paezan: Piraha *bege.* Barbacoan: Muellama *pegrane.*

Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *pakun.*
Macro-Ge: Kaingang *pɔ.*

726 STRING **nu*

Hokan: Subtiaba *-ūñulū,* Tequistlatec *-aynuɬ* 'fiber.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **nu,* Masaka *nai.*
• [H140, MT89]

727 STRONG **pale*

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *bere, bele* 'strength.' Iranshe *pwita* 'strong, hard.' Ticuna *pora.* Tucano: Siona *puin* 'be strong.'
Equatorial: Guahibo: Guayabero *polala* 'wild.' Kariri *apru* 'wild.' Yuracare *pare* 'wild.'
• [A247]

728 SUCK **c'uq^w*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **c'awk^w,* Proto-Salish **c'uq^w.*
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **c^{h}uc^{h}a.* Gulf: Muskogean: Creek **coːk-ita.* Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **cuʔc* 'suckle, chew.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i/a)ci(c),* Proto-Yuman **cicika.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *cu-.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **šuqu-.*
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *čok* 'suck, nurse.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **cu-* ∼ *čo-* 'suck, nurse.'

729 SUN$_1$ **ali* ∼ **ala*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **alʔa* 'sun,' **alayi* 'dawn,' Chimariko *alla, ala.* Comecrudo *al.* Karankawa *auil* 'moon.' Pomo: East Pomo *laː* 'sun, moon,' North, Central Pomo *da* 'sun.' Salinan *naʔ.* Yuman: Yuma *ña,* Tipai *ñaː,* Kiliwa *inyaː,* etc.
Paezan: Choco: Catio *una* 'shine.' Chimu: Eten *inen* 'light.' Jirajara: Ayoman *iñ* 'sun.' Paez *en* 'day.' Timucua *ela* 'sun, day.' Millcayac *aʎ* 'light (n.)'
Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *varuvaru.* Catuquina: Catuquina *waɬya* 'moon,' Parawa *wadia* 'moon.' Iranshe *ireʔ.* Movima *il-* 'dry in sun' (transitive). Puinave: Tiquie *uero,* Yehubde *werho* 'moon,' Querari *uidn* 'moon.'
Equatorial: Maipuran: Cayeri *eri,* Piapoco *eri,* Achagua *erri,* Apolista *uri* 'star.' Otomaco *ura* 'moon.' Proto-Tupi-Guarani **ar* 'day.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Trio *ole-ole* 'flame,' Crichana *iri(-ipo)* 'fire place,' Surinam *t-uːri* 'torch,' etc. Witoto *ole* 'fire.' Yagua: Yameo *ole* 'fire.'
Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba *ala,* Komlek *olo* 'zenith,' Guachi *oalete* 'moon,' Toba *lon* 'kindle,' Mocovi *alon* 'burn.' Lengua: Mascoy *aleu* 'burn

(transitive), shine,' *p-eltin* 'moon.' Lule *ale* 'burn' (intransitive), *alit.* Mataco: Choroti *wela,* Enimaga *wal.* Vilela, Chunupi *olo.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo *ari* 'moon.' Kaingang: Came *eri,* Apucarana *ãra.* Ingain *ara.* Amho *aro.* Aweikoma *la.*

• [A248]

730 SUN$_2$ **k^{w}al*

Chibchan: Rama *kunkani* 'light' (n.)'

Paezan: Timucua *ek^{w}ela* 'day,' *karo* 'light, brightness.' Barbacoan: Guambiana *kwalɨm* 'day,' Totoro *kwa'lɨm* 'day.'

Andean: Qawasqar *kala* 'day.' Aymara *k^{h}ana* 'light (n.)' Cholona *kenna* 'stars.' Itucale *hanuna.* Cahuapana: Jebero *ukli* 'day, light.' Patagon: Patagon *kenek, kerren* 'day,' *kolaš, kunaš* 'star' (probably diminutive), Hongote *kekar,* Ona *kren* 'moon.' Selknam *kren.* Quechua: Ancash *xunax* 'day.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auixiri *akroak.* Canichana *kol, koxli, korli* 'day.' Huari *ikirinæ* 'day.' Koaia *akori* 'moon.' Maku *kele, kelia* 'day.' Natu *kra-sulo:.* Puinave *kəlod, ked, korlot* 'star.' Uman *kari.*

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **k^{w}ar.* Piaroa: Macu *kele.* Arawak: Tariana *keri.*

Macro-Panoan: Nocten, Guisnai *ixuala.* Mataco *xuala.* Vejoz *xualü* 'day.'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *kueri.* Kaingang *kurã* 'day.'

• [A249]

731 SUN$_3$ **pali*

Penutian: Tsimshian *pialst, bials* 'star.' Oregon: Kalapuya *ampiun.* (California: Wintun: Colouse *pellar* is probably a borrowing from Yuki.) Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw *pala* 'light (n.), shine,' Yukian: Huchnom *pilaṭ,* Coast Yuki *pilɛt.*

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **paR* 'sun, day.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *piri-tani* 'lighten' (v.), *piri-rasi* 'luminous.' Xinca: Yupultepec, Chiquimulilla, etc. *pari* 'day, sun.' Yanoama: Pubmatari *pilmoro.*

Paezan: Proto-Choco **ewari* 'day,' Sambu *ibaru* 'month,' Citara *ibare* 'day.'

Andean: Mapudungu *pelo-* 'get light.' Proto-Quechuan **wara* 'dawn.'

Equatorial: Arawak: Baure *pari.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **badi* 'sun, day,' Proto-Panoan **βari,* Chama, Capanagua, Cashinaua, Pacaguara, Caripuna *bari,* Arazaire *fuari,* Shaninawa *fwaui,* Chacobo, Atsahuaca, Conibo, Yamiaca *huari,* Maruba, Cashibo *vari,* Poyanawa *vori,* Panobo, Nocaman, Canawari, Nehanawa *wari.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umutina *baru.* Ge: Apinage *bure.*

• [A250]

732 SUN$_4$ *t'ak'^{w}

Almosan: Proto-Salish *c'ak'^{w} 'light, bright.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *cius.* Oregon: Siuslaw *cxayu:wi.* California: Costanoan: Monterey *tuš* 'day,' Santa Cruz *tuhe* 'day'; Wintun: Sacramento River *tuku,* Proto-Yokuts **taʔak'.* Zuni *yatokka.* Gulf: Tunica *tahč'i.* Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *cok* 'shine,' Sayula *taʔkš* 'shine'; Totonac: Papantla *tuxkaket* 'light' (n.)

Equatorial: Arawak: Ipurina *atokanti,* Kushichineri *takači.*

Macro-Ge: Yabuti: Arikapu *töhã,* Yabuti *tõhõ.* Caraja *tšu:* 'day, sun.'

• [A251]

733 SUN$_5$ *c'ul

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *č'uwaR,* Achomawi *cul,* Shasta *c'uwar.*

Andean: Culli *su.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *çwa.*

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *cu:* 'day, sun,' *su:r* 'sun,' Yunkarirsh *su:rš,* Churapa *su:š.* Caraja *tiu:* 'day, sun,' Guato *ma-čuo* 'day.' San Simoniano *sou.*

• [H141, MG28]

734 SUN$_6$ *kati

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Miskito *kati* 'moon'; Tarascan *kucsi* 'moon'; Lenca: Guajiquero *kaši.*

Paezan: Chimu: Eten *kæss.*

Andean: Puelche *kateken.*

Equatorial: Guahibo *ikatia,* Goajiro *kači* 'moon,' Terena *kače,* Piro *kači,* Cuica *kuči* 'day,' Digüt *gati* 'moon.' Siracua *gete.* Proto-Maipuran **kečɨ,* Kanamare *ghasirü,* Caliponau *kaši,* Paumari *kasiri.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Chaque *gičio,* Yupe *güičo.* Mapoyo *katun.*

• [CP187, E109]

735 SUN$_7$ *hasi

Keresiouan: ?Proto-Keresan *hi:šɨ* 'sunflower.' Proto-Caddoan **isaku:-.*

Penutian: Gulf: Atakapa *iš* 'sun, star,' Tunica *ʔášuhki* 'day,' Muskogean: Alabama *hasi.* Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **sɨw* 'sun, name, fiesta.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **asi* ∼ **aši* ∼ **iša(χ).*

Chibchan: Yanomam *šĩi* 'light.'

Paezan: Timucua *hasi.*

Andean: ?Proto-Quechuan **ačik* 'light.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **ãsɨ̃,* Uanana *se.*

Equatorial: Jivaro: Shuara, Huambisa *aca.*

Macro-Carib: Yagua *asaːša* 'dawn.' Carib: Cachuena *isoso,* Cunuana *ši,* Waiana, Upurui *šiši,* Chiquena *sesi,* Yecuana *ži,* Ihuruana *žiː,*
Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Tiatinagua *ešet,* Sapiboca *iseti.*

736 SUN$_8$ **maka*

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *-maː-s-* 'light.' California: Yokuts *me* 'sun, moon.'
Hokan: Proto-Pomo **maːki* ∼ **makiʎ* 'day.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **meya, *mea* 'sun,' **meca* 'moon, month.'
Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *mama.* Misumalpan: Ulua, Sumu *ma* 'day, sun.' Paya *maː.*
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado, Cayapa *ma* 'day.'
Andean: Puelche *amaha* 'day.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *maʔa* 'day, light.' Ticuna *omɨ* 'light.' Tucanoan: Omöa *amakai,* Sära *omakani,* Buhagana *omãkãyi,* Macuna *umakanö,* Desana *ame* 'light,' etc., Amaguaje *mea-gi* 'shines.'
Equatorial: Arawakan: Araua, Yamamadi *mahi,* Culino, Madiha *maxi.* Cayuvava *maka.*
Macro-Ge: Ge: Kraho, Piokobye *amkro.* Monosho *maĩua.*
• [A166]

737 SUN$_9$ **pan*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **-aːpan* 'dawn,' **pankihšimowa* 'sunset.'
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **pyan.* California: Proto-Maiduan **banak'* 'light.'
Andean: Zaparo: Andoa *apanamu,* Chiripuno *pananu,* Shimigae *poanamu.* Mapudungu *wɨn* 'dawn.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **bũhĩ-pũ,* Coto *bañi.* Pankaruru *panye.*
Equatorial: Achuar *paːntin* 'light (n.)'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Opone *bueno,* Carare *bwenuñe.*
Macro-Panoan: Panoan: Yaminaua *wani.*

738 SUN$_{10}$ **p'it* ∼ **put'*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan **pit'-* ∼ **p'it-* 'light, sun, moon, sky.'
Keresiouan: ?Proto-Keresan **buḍᶻuw'isti* 'lightning.'
Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *pɨtć,* Totoro *pɨś.* Proto-Choco **pisia,* Choco, Sambu *pisia.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Maku-Puinave *widɔh.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Caribe *bedu,* Cariniaco *wedo.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **badi* 'sun, day.'
Macro-Ge: Ge: Cherente *bedö,* Makamekran *büt,* Chavante *budu,* Krenje

püd, Taje *püt,* Mehin, Remkokamekran *pud,* Krenkataje, Sakamekran, Purekamekran, Karaho, Acroa *put,* Aponegricran *putu.*

739 SUN_{11} **hini*

Penutian: Gulf: Wappo *hin.*
Paezan: Timucua *ini* 'day.' Jirajara: Ayoman *iñ.*
Andean: Mayna *hena,* Leco *heno.*
Macro-Carib: Yagua *hiñiː* ∼ *iñi.*
Macro-Panoan: Lule *ini.*

740 SUN_{12} **kamo*

Paezan: Huarpe: Millcayac *xumek* 'sun,' *xumuk* 'day.'
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kamui,* Marawan *kamui,* Paresi *kamai,* Mehinacu *kame,* Wapishana *kamo,* Yavitero *kamoθi,* Uirina *kamoe,* Maypure *kamosi,* Atorai, Mawakwa, Yukuna *kamu,* Adzaneni *gamui,* Guinau *gamũhũ,* Manao *gamuy,* Bare *ghamu,* Uainuma *ghamui,* Urupa *kumem,* Marawa *kumetu.* Piaroa: Maco *gama.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Uayeue, Waiwai *kamo.*

741 SUN_{13} **tin*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan **-ta* 'day.'
Penutian: Plateau: Nez Perce *tiʔn* ∼ *tiʔ,* Klamath *din-* 'sun,' *diniːɢi* 'sun rises.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **tin* 'day, tomorrow, day after.' Proto-Tanoan **t^hə* 'day.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ta.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *tinno.*
Equatorial: ?Pakaasnovos *čina.*
Macro-Carib: ?Carib: Pariri, Pimenteira, Arara *titi.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **çine* 'day, afternoon.'

742 SUN_{14} **hada*

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **haʔda.*
Equatorial: Arawak *hadali.*

743 SUN_{15} **haya*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **hayál* 'day.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Coretu *haya.*

744 SUN_{16} **pe*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-sbi* 'there are sun rays.'
Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *peː.* California: Proto-Yokuts **ʔop^h* 'sun, moon.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ipe* 'day.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pe(pe)* 'lightning' (reduplication = light light, as in Moseten below).
Paezan: Itonama *uwayo* 'day.'
Andean: Cahuapana: Chayavita *piː*.
Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Desana *abe*.
Macro-Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **bey*, Carijona *bei*, Camaracoto *be*, Zapara *we*, Pianocoto *weh*, Wama, Macusi, Purucoto, Taurepan, Ingarico, Umaua, Pemon *wei*, Pauishana *uai*, Uaica *uey*, Carif *ueyu*, Urucuyena, Ocomayana *uwi*, Tivericoto *ve*, Arecuna *vɛi*.
Macro-Panoan: Moseten *pexpeo* 'lightning.' Proto-Tacanan **ue-* 'light, today, tomorrow, clear sky, get light.'

745 SUN$_{17}$ **naq^{w}*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-North Wakashan **n'aq^{w}-* 'daylight, moonlight, bright light.' Proto-Coast Salish **nəq^{w}* 'sun, fire, warm.'
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ñaːʔa*.
Macro-Carib: Bora: Bora *nöʔögbwa* 'sun,' *nuʔpa* 'sun, moon,' Imihitä *nöxba*.
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *ñuʔu* 'day.'
Equatorial: Tinigua: Tinigua *nixo*. Piaroa: Saliba *nok^{w}idia* 'day.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **noːqːo* 'day.'

746 SUN$_{18}$ **pak*

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **pok'* 'sun, moon, luminary.'
Chibchan: Yanomam *wakara* 'day, daytime.'
Paezan: Millcayac *paxtekina* 'get light, dawn (v.)'
Andean: Zaparo *pakaːteka* 'get light, dawn.' Proto-Quechuan **paqa-*.
Macro-Tucanoan: Maku-Puinave *wag*.
Macro-Ge: Mashakali *apokai*, Kapasho, Kumansho *apukoi*.

747 SWALLOW **maliq'a*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *mik'olum* 'swallow. Kutenai *uʔmqoɬ* 'swallow.' Mosan: Proto-Salish **məq'* 'eat one's fill,' Chehalis *mq'^{w}* 'swallow,' Lower Fraser *məlq^{w}* 'throat,' Pentlach *məkwəm* 'swallow,' Nisqualli *omikalekw* 'swallow,' Columbian *məlq* ∼ *enmellik* 'tongue.' Wakashan: Nootka *m̓uk^{w}* 'swallow,' Kwakwala *m̓ḷχ^{w}-ʔid* 'chew food for the baby,' *m̓ḷq^{w}a* 'moisten the fingers with the tongue,' Heiltsuk *m̓elqva* 'chew food for baby,' *m̓elχv-baút* 'lick the end of something.'
Penutian: Chinook: Chinook *-mőkuī-* 'throat,' *mlq^{w}-tan* 'cheek,' Wishram *ō-mēqλ* 'lick.' Oregon: Takelma *mülk'* 'swallow,' Proto-Kalapuya **mílk* 'swallow' (v.), Tualatin *mílk* ∼ *mílq* 'swallow,' *mílk'-wan* 'swallow,' Santiam *mílk* 'swallow,' Yonkala *k'andít-mílik* 'I swallowed it.' Plateau:

North Sahaptin *malqmat* 'lick,' Molala *mil* 'throat.' California: Yokuts *mōk'i* 'swallow,' *mik'-is* 'throat,' Yaudanchi *mök* 'swallow,' *müküs* 'throat.' Gulf: Proto-Muskogean **mil* 'swallow,' Tunica *milu* 'choke,' *miru* 'swallow,' Atakapa *mol* 'gargle,' Wappo *malék'eʔ* 'swallow it,' Coast Yuki *mekup* 'throat,' Huchnom *meka* 'drink,' Yuki *mi* 'drink.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *amuʔul* 'suck,' Zoque *muʔk* 'suck.'

Hokan: Chumash: Santa Ynez *aqmil* 'drink' (? = *aq-mil* 'water-swallow'), Santa Cruz *akmil* 'drink'; Yuman: Yuma *mal^{y}aqé* 'neck,' Walapai *malqi'* 'throat, neck,' Havasupai *milqé* 'throat,' Yavapai *melqí* 'neck,' Mohave *mal^{y}aqé* 'throat,' Akwa'ala *milqí* 'neck,' Paipai *milqí* 'neck' (cf. also the obviously related Yuman forms where the initial nasal has assimilated the palatal nature of the following lateral: Yuma *an^{y}ī^{y}q* 'swallow,' Walapai *mi-n^{y}alq* 'swallow,' Diegueño *we-n^{y}aɬq* 'swallow,' Havasupai *k^{w}e-n^{y}álqika* 'swallow,' Akwa'ala *n^{y}elq* 'swallow,' etc.); ?Tlappanec *māga'ŋqɔ'* 'swallow.'

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *eʔmelɨ* 'eat,' Cuna *murki-makka* 'swallow,' *murgi murgi sae* 'swallow food.'

Andean: Quechuan: Cochabamba *malq'a* 'throat,' Huaraz *mallaqa* 'be hungry'; Aymara *maλq'a* 'swallow, throat' (probably a borrowing from Quechua); ? Cholon *amok* 'eat.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Curetu *mouku* 'drink,' Ticuna *mi* 'drink,' Iranshe *mokeʔi* 'neck.'

Equatorial: Guamo *mirko* 'drink,' Arawak *amüküddun* 'swallow,' Callahuaya *maλk'a* 'throat' (almost certainly a loan from Quechua or Aymara).

Macro-Carib: Surinam *eʔmōkï* 'swallow,' Faai *mekeli* 'nape of the neck,' Kaliana *imukulali* 'throat.'

• [A252, Ruhlen 1994h] A number of forms show metathesis. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, Uralic, Dravidian, Caucasian and Eskimo-Aleut (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

748 SWEEP **pit*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **peːtʔ.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **piča-.*

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **pɨ(-da).*

749 SWELL **pos*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *peːš,* Proto-Algonquian **peːčikenwi* 'grow slowly,' Ojibwa *peːčikin* 'grow slowly,' Menomini *pɛːčekɛn* 'it grows slowly.' Mosan: Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan **bus-* 'swell (especially when pregnant),' Proto-North Wakashan **pus-* 'swell (through soaking).' Salish: Upper Chehalis *pos,* Thompson *pau.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **po ∼ pu.*

Penutian: Proto-California *p^ho ~ p^hu, Proto-Maiduan *puː. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *pɨh 'swell up, flourish.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan *pχu.
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *poca ~ posa.
• [AK187]

750 TAIL$_1$ *k'^{w}ati

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *hc-* 'tail (of an animal).'
Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts *k'ut'. Zuni *kʔate.* Gulf: Natchez *ʔisi,* Tunica *-ása,* Muskogean: Koasati *haci,* Proto-North Yuki *k'əhs.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan *-heʔ.
Hokan: Proto-Yuman *heʔe.
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *k^waci ~ k^wasi. Proto-Tanoan *k^{hw}ẽ.
Chibchan: Rama *kwa.*

751 TAIL$_2$ *tuk

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *tkuː. Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *tuʔuyn. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *tuʔc(ta).*
Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha *du-ki. Proto-Aruak *duhk ~ *nugg. Rama *ituk ~ tukwa.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *tikipu.*

752 TAIL$_3$ *baɬ

Almosan: Proto-Algic, Proto-Algonquian *waɬanyi.
Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *baɬeukua.*

753 TAIL$_4$ *ʔala

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *-aːlwiweː.
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *(i)ʔrhwə̃θ* 'tail (of an animal).'
Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *ʔalaksi-.*
Hokan: Proto-Yuman *iʔar.*

754 TAIL$_5$ *sin

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan *sĩti.
Chibchan: Yanomam *šina.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *sinira ~ ṣïnïra.*

755 TAIL$_6$ *sikal

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *sakaːlwiweːneːw 'seize by the tail.'
Penutian: Proto-Penutian *(s)ik^{w}al- ~ *salik^w 'tail, backbone.'

756 TALK *mal

Penutian: Tsimshian *mal* 'tell,' Takelma *malg*^{y} 'tell.'
Chibchan: Intibucat *malmal* (with reduplication to indicate continuous action), Cuitlatec *oxmele* 'chat.'
• [P247, CP192]

757 TAPIR$_1$ *maci

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **meca-ha,* Guahibo *me:caha,* Cuiva *meca,* Guayabero *mesa*; Tupi: Shipaya *masaka.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **mačihuli,* Proto-Taranoan **mačipuri,* Carijona *mačihuri*; Yagua: Peba *ameisha.*

758 TAPIR$_2$ *awa

Paezan: Matanawi *awiya.*
Equatorial: Arawakan: Culino *auhi,* Yamamadi *aui,* Arua, Madiha, Waninawa *awi.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **ʔawada,* Proto-Tacanan **awada,* Tumupasa *a:huadi,* Maropa *ahuanša,* Isiama *ahuata,* Cavineña *auada,* Tacana *ɛhuadi,* Proto-Panoan **ʔawara,* Chama, Yaminaua *ahua,* Atsahuaca, Pacaguara *ahuana,* Chacobo *ahuara,* Cashibo, Nucuini, Tushinaua, Poyanawa *aua,* Caripuna *auana,* Conibo *auha,* Maruba, Capanagua, Cashinaua, Paran-nawa, Shaninawa *awa,* Panobo, Nocaman, Sensi *awua.*
Macro-Ge: Yabuti *hua.*

759 TAPIR$_3$ *kutu

Equatorial: Tupi: Wayoro *ikuait.* Arawak: Paresi *kotui,* Wapishana, Mapidian *kudui.*
Macro-Ge: Ge: Southern Cayapo *id^{z}huta,* Cherente *kudu,* Acroa *kuɛte,* Chavante *kuhodu,* Kraho *kutkrut,* Remkokamekran *kukrute,* Krenje *kukrüdn,* Cayapo *kukrot,* Suya *kukrit,* Chikriaba *kuto.*

760 TAPIR$_4$ *kema

Chibchan: Yanomam *šama.*
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kema,* Chiriana *kema,* Guajiro *kama,* Adzaneni *hema,* Baniva *e:ma,* Piapoco *ema,* Mojo *samo,* Cauishana, Kushichineri *sema,* Piro *siema,* ?Bare *tema,* ?Mehinacu *tɛme,* ?Lapachu *yama,* Guinao *zema.*
Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Toromona *ša:wi,* Tiatinagua, Arazaire *šauvi,* Canawari *xema.*
Macro-Ge: Yabuti: Mashubi *čimore.*

761 TAPIR$_5$ **nake*

Macro-Tucanoan: Ticuna *nake.*
Macro-Carib: Yameo *nase.* Yagua *neča.*

762 TESTICLE **talo*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **taːlo,* Nez Perce *taːlo.* Gulf: Tunica *-htolu* 'testicle,' *tólu* 'spherical object,' Muskogean: Choctaw *-talop.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **čʷəːlV* ∼ **sulʸ,* Tonkawa *cāl,* San Antonio *solo.*
• [P249, H145]

763 THAT$_1$ **mo*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **ma* 'this,' **-Vm* 'he,' Wiyot *m-* (impersonal possessor), Yurok *m-* (impersonal possessor), Proto-Algonquian **me-* (impersonal possessor), Proto-Central Algonquian **-am-* (third-person transitive inanimate ending). Salish: Squamish *m-* (prefix found on body parts), Upper Chehalis *ma-* (body part prefix), Musqueam *me-* (body part prefix), Siciatl *ma-* (body part prefix), Thompson River Salish *-m* (unspecified object). Wakashan: Kwakwala *-əm* (passive suffix of verbs that take the instrumental).
Penutian: California Penutian **mV* 'that,' Proto-Maiduan **-ma* 'that which,' **mɨ* 'that one,' Nisenan *mi* 'he/she,' *moː* 'that one,' *mɨ* 'this, that,' Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **maːn* ∼ **man* 'that is,' *mi(n)-* 'that,' Bodega Miwok *maː* 'that.' Gulf: Atakapa *ma* 'yon,' Chitimacha *ma-nki* 'yonder,' Muskogean: Creek *ma.* Mexican: Totonac: Totonac *ama* 'that.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **mE* 'this,' Proto-Pomo **hamiyabʔ* 'he.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **mo* (third person sg. and pl., and second-person plural reflexive pronoun), Taos *mo-* (third-person sg. reflexive pronoun), *kimo* (first-person plural reflexive pronoun), *mãmo* (second-person plural reflexive pronoun), *ʔimo* (third-person plural reflexive pronoun), *ʔãn-mo-* 'my own' (reflexive, cf. *ʔãn-* 'my').
Chibchan: Yanomam *mihi* 'that (near hearer).'
Paezan: Warao *ama* 'that yonder.' Timucua *hami* 'that,' *miču* 'that one.' Proto-Choco **mau* 'that.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *mara* 'that.'
Equatorial: Guaraní *amo* 'that.'
Macro-Carib: Arara *mo,* Barama *moko* 'he/she,' *moro* 'it,' Galibi *moe,* Tamanaco *more* 'there,' Waiwai *moro* 'that one,' Pauwishana *men* 'those,' Witoto *imua* 'that,' *imaki* 'those.' Pemon *mese* 'that,' *muere* 'that, he, she.'
Macro-Panoan: Moseten *mo* 'that, he,' Lule *mima* 'he/she/it,' *meoto* 'they,' Tacana *me(-sa),* Chama *ma* 'that.'

Macro-Ge: Kradaho *me,* Northern Cayapo *amu* ∼ *ama,* Coroado *man,* Coropo *mam,* Bororo *ema,* Chiquito *manu* 'that,' Guato *ma-* (stage III article).

• [G14, Ruhlen 1994f] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g). Ruhlen (1994f) discusses what is in all liklihood an extension of this demonstrative root. In synchronic grammars it is usually described as an intercalated *-m-* that appears, somewhat mysteriously, between a possessive prefix and a kinship term. Its meaning, if any is specified, is usually vague. Moshinsky (1974: 102) reports that in Southeastern Pomo (Hokan), "the *-m-* prefix occurs on the non-vocative forms of all kinship terms" (with a few exceptions) in forms such as *ʔi-m-sen* 'maternal uncle,' *ʔi-m-ce-x* 'paternal uncle,' *ʔi-m-cen* 'maternal grandfather,' *wi-m-t'a-q* 'younger sister.' This latter form is suspiciously similar to Washo (Hokan) *wi-c'u-k* 'younger sister,' which lacks the intercalated *-m-* and involves a different grade of the Amerind root in question (see TINA/TANA/TUNA 'son, child, daughter'), and also resembles Yuchi (Siouan-Yuchi) *wi-ta-ki* 'young man.' It should be emphasized that the Washo form is synchronically monomorphemic, whereas in the Southeastern Pomo form the final morpheme boundary (*-x* and *-q*) is not synchronically motivated. In both languages the reciprocal *-ki* ∼ *-ka* (see RECIPROCAL **-ki* ∼ *-*ka* above) has become fossilized on the stem, as in Siouan languages. In Washo the archaic first-person singular pronoun *wi-* has also become fossilized in the word for 'younger sister,' but in Southeastern Pomo both the first-person singular pronoun *wi-* and the intercalated *-m-* are synchronically motivated.

In the Plateau branch of Penutian we find a similar intercalated *-m-* in both Nez Perce and Northern Sahaptin. For most Nez Perce kinship terms the first-person possessed form is simply the first-person prefix followed by the root, as in *naʔ-tőt* 'my father,' *ʔim'-tőt* 'thy father.' In four of the terms, however, an intercalated *-m-* appears in the first-person term, but not in the second-person form: *ʔin-m'-ásqap* 'my younger brother (man speaking),' *ʔin-ím-qanis* 'my younger sister (man speaking),' *ʔin–m'-ácip* 'my younger sister (woman speaking),' *ʔin-m'-ít-x* 'my sister's child (woman speaking).' In Northern Sahaptin we find the following forms: *in-m-išt* 'my son,' *in-ma-awit'aɬ* 'my brother-in-law,' *in-m-ač* 'my sister-in-law,' *in-əm-am* 'my husband,' *in-m-ašam* 'my wife.' With regard to this *-m-,* Jacobs (1931: 235) concluded that "there is some doubt concerning *m*; it may be possessive *-mi* or *inmi* vestigially prefixed before a front vowel."

In South America, a similar intercalated *-m-* appears in Itonama, a Paezan language of Bolivia, as reported in Rivet (1921: 175). Rivet noted this prefix, between first-person *š-* and the root in the following forms: *š-me-tíka* 'my mother,' *š-mi-múka* 'my father,' *š-máy-yamǎšne* 'my father-in-law,' *š-ma-yamǎšne-ka* 'my mother-in-law,' *š-mi-yama* 'son-in-law,' and *š-mey-mapi-ni* 'my husband.' (First-person *š-* is perhaps cognate with the first-

person suffix *-(a)š* in Sahaptin.) It seems likely that this intercalated *-m-*, for which no meaning is usually specified, represents a fossilized article that has become part of the stem synchronically. The diachronic source of this element is in all probability the Proto-Amerind demonstrative **mV-* discussed in this etymology. As Greenberg noted, the original demonstrative meaning has been eroded in many languages, appearing fossilized on nouns as a Stage III article in Guato, as the impersonal possessor in Algic, as the third-person reflexive pronoun in Uto-Aztecan, and as a body-part prefix in Salish.

764 THAT$_2$ **pa*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **pa-* ∼ **pe-* 'him, her, it,' Klamath *bi* 'he, she, it.' California Penutian **pi* 'this.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ʔap* 'this way, here.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pA* ∼ **pi* (article), Proto-Yuman **p-u* 'this,' Diegueño *pu:* 'he/she.' Karok *pay* 'that,' *pa-* (article), Chimariko *pa-*, East Pomo *ba*, San Luis Obispo *pa-k*, San Antonio *pa* 'that,' *pe-* 'that, the,' Coahuilteco *pa* (demonstrative), *po:* (sg. animate demonstrative), *pi* (demonstrative referring to something immediately preceding). Yurumangui *-ba* 'this.'

Chibchan: Yanomam *pe-. . .-e* 'his' (with kinship terms).

Paezan: Millcayac *epi* 'this,' *ep* 'he, this.' Timucua *po* 'that sort of thing.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **pay* 'he,' Quechua *pay* 'he/she,' Aymara *-pa* 'his/her,' Mapudungu *-pe* 'he/she,' Cholona *pe*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **pai* 'he.'

Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *pidi* 'this.' Proto-Guahiban **pE-* 'his,' **po-wa* 'she.'

Macro-Carib: Bora *a:pye* 'that masc.'

Macro-Panoan: Mataco *pa, pa-* (article), *pa-nete* (remote past tense marker), Vilela *-p* 'his/her,' Tacana *pa-* 'him/her.'

• [G16]

765 THAT$_3$ **ya*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **ya* 'that (personal),' **yo* 'that (restricted).' Proto-Mosan **ya(:)-* 'this, that,' Wakashan: Kwakwala *yu* 'this one (near you),'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **ya-* 'he (agent).'

Penutian: Gulf: Atakapa *ya* 'that, this,' Natchez *yak-haki:š* 'do this way,' Muskogean: Creek *ya* this,' Choctaw *yakkih* 'look here!,' Chicasaw *yak-* 'this way' (verbal prefix), *yappa* 'this.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **yɨʔ* 'this.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ya* 'this,' Proto-Yuman *ya-* ∼ *ña-* 'that, he.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **ya* 'this, here, now, today.'

Chibchan: Tunebo *eya*. Rama *ya-* 'he, it.'
Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado, Cayapa *ya* 'he, she.' Timucua *yo* 'that, the one.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **ɨye* 'this.'

766 THAT$_4$ **ʔa ∼ *ha*

Almosan: Kutenai *ʔaː-. . .-ʔis* 'his.'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *haʔ*.
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **haːs(a)* 'this,' Takelma *haːʔ-ka*. Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **ʔa-* ∼ **ʔe-* 'him, her, it.' California: ?Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **hin-te* 'to do it.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ha* 'this, he,' Atakapa *(h)a* 'this,' Chitimacha *ha* 'this,' Wappo *hé* 'this, it.' Proto-Mayan **haʔini* 'this.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **he(ʔ)* 'he, she.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ha* 'he,' Proto-Pomo **hamiyaː* 'his, her,' **hamiyabʔ* 'he,' **hamiyad(ʔ)* 'she.' Coahuilteco *a-* 'this.'
Chibchan: Yanomam *a* 'he, she, it.'
Paezan: Timucua *hami* 'that,' *hačibono* 'that, thing,' *hoke* 'that (one), there.' Millcayac *huen*. Barbacoan: Colorado *ha*.
Andean: Yamana *hawan* 'this.'
Equatorial: Guahibo: Jitnu *hóhe*. Achuar *hũ* 'this.'
Macro-Carib: Yagua *hiñu* 'this,' *hiy* 'this.'
• Possibly connected with HE/SHE$_1$ **ʔi ∼ *iʔ*.

767 THAT$_5$ **sa*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **s-* 'that, indefinite article, noun prefix.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **sa* 'that yonder.'
Chibchan: Yanomam *si* 'it (skin),' *sik* 'it (plant).'
Andean: Yamana *suwan* 'that (near person spoken to).'
Macro-Carib: Yagua *sa-* 'he, she.' Pemon *sena* 'this.'
Macro-Ge: Fulnio *sa* 'he (masc.).'

768 THERE **ʔai*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **ay-* 'be there, exist, abide, remain, stay.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **ʔaisi*.
Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **ai-sai*.

769 THICK **q'^{w}ic*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Salish **q'^{w}uc* 'fat.'
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **k^{w}iš*.
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **kiṣ̌to*.

770 THIGH *kasi

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan *kaːsuʔ* 'leg.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *kasi.*
Chibchan: Proto-Aruak *kahsə* 'foot,' Kagaba *kasa* 'foot,' Atanque *kösa* 'foot'; Atakama *k'uči* 'foot,' Chibchan: Kogui *kasa* 'foot,' Dimina *kɨsa* 'foot,' Chimila *kassa* 'foot.'
Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *kacik* 'foot,' Totoro *kacik* 'foot,' Coconuco *kaːci* 'foot.'
Andean: ?Qawasqar *qaserpe.*
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *kokočiʔ* 'thigh, upper leg.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *kisši.*
• [CP81]

771 THINK *ali

Almosan: Proto-Algic *aːl- 'think, feel,' Wiyot *haɬb-* 'feel so,' Yurok *has,* Proto-Algonquian *-eːlem- 'think, by thought.' Proto-Mosan *-aːɬ 'see, look, perceive.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian *-eːri- 'think, believe.'
Hokan: Proto-Yuman *aʎiːm.*
Andean: Yamana *aːla* 'know.'

772 THIS$_1$ *ki ∼ *ko

Almosan: Proto-Algic *-akwi 'he,' *-Vk 'he,' *-Ka 'that,' *ko- 'that (previously mentioned).' Kutenai *qoː* 'that.' Proto-Mosan *q^wi- ∼ *q^wa- ∼ *qa 'that,' *-k^w ∼ *-x^w 'this, that.' Proto-Chimakuan *k^wiʔV 'this, that.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian *ka- 'he (animate agent),' Tuscarora *kyeːnə̃ː* 'this.'
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *ka 'that (indefinite),' Takelma *ʔaka* 'this,' Proto-Kalapuyan *k^wawk 'he,' *k^wus(a) 'this.' Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *ki.* Gulf: Proto-Yuki *kaʔ* 'this,' Yuki *k'iː* 'that.'
Hokan: Chontal *(hi-)kiya* 'this,' *(hi-)kaʔa* 'that,' Jicaque *kone* 'this,' *kiʔa* 'here,' Subtiaba *kagi* 'this'; Yuman: Cochimi *khu* 'this'; Chumash: Santa Ynez *kai* ∼ *kaː* 'this,' San Buenaventura *kaki* 'this'; Atsugewi *k'e* 'here,' *-k-* 'hither,' Achomawi *-k-* 'hither'; Karok *ʔoːk* 'here.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(h)k^wa(H)(n)* 'that, that one over there, this, he.'
Chibchan: Yanomam *kama* 'he, she,' *kihi* 'that.' Tarascan *-x-* 'he, she.'
Paezan: Timucua *ka* 'this, that, here,' *ke* 'that, what, there.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *kay 'this.' Yamana *kito* 'he, she.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *kiʔa* 'this,' Macu *ki* 'this,' Macu-Puinave *kan* 'that.'
Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani *ko,* Guarayo *koː* 'this,' Guaraní *ko* 'this';

Uro: Puquina *ko* 'this, that'; Timote: Mocochi *kiu* 'that.' Proto-Guahiban **xua.* Pakaasnovos *komaʔ* 'this, he,' Campa *oka* 'this, that.'

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **kiʔi-* 'that.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **a-kːæ* 'that fem.,' **kːæ* 'that masc.'

Macro-Ge: Caraja *kua* 'this,' *kakiexe* 'that,' Kamakan *kue* 'that'; Ge: Cherente *kua* ∼ *kũ* 'he,' Kraho *ke* 'he.'

• [G22]

773 THIS$_2$ **ni* ∼ **na*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **na* 'that.' Kutenai *na.* Proto-Mosan **ʔana-* 'that, he.'

Penutian: California Penutian **nV* 'that,' Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **no-* 'that, there.' Zuni *ʔona* 'that which, one who.'

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ña* ∼ **ya* 'that, he.' Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba **nina* 'this, here.'

Chibchan: Rama *naiŋ* ∼ *niŋ* 'this,' *nam* 'that, *nikis* 'this way.'

Paezan: Timucua *na* 'this, that.' Paez *ana* 'this.' Barbacoan: Colorado *ne* 'he/she.' Proto-Choco **nau,* Choco *nan* 'that.'

Andean: Yahgan *-n* (fossilized third-person pronoun), Ona *on* 'he/she,' *n-* 'his/her,' Quechua *-n* 'his/her,' Zaparo *no* 'he,' Arabela *na-* 'his/her,' Andoa *noa,* Iquito *nuː,* Jebero *-no* ∼ *-nan* 'his/her,' *nana* 'that,' Cahuapana *nana,* Leco *on,* Cholona *n-* 'his/her' (this prefix merges with the stem-initial consonant to form the nasal alternant in a system of consonant mutation, e.g., *-kot* 'water,' *a-kot* 'my water,' *mi-kot* 'thy water,' *ŋot* 'his/her water.' Yamana *anči* 'that (distant).'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *ãno* 'this, that.' Maku-Puinave *nin* 'this.'

Equatorial: Amuesha *ña* 'he,' Paraujano *nia* 'he/she,' *n-* 'his/her,' Chiriana *ne* 'he,' Chipaya *ni* 'he,' Itene *na-* 'he/she,' *-n* 'him/her,' Cayuvava *ñe* 'there,' Huambisa *nu* 'that,' Aguaruna *nu* ∼ *niː,* Yuracare *na* 'he/she, that,' Cuica *na.* Achuar *ni* 'he (absent).'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Hishcariana *en(i)* 'this,' Waiwai *oni* 'this,' Galibi *ini* 'this,' Wayana *ine* 'he, she,' Carib *ani* 'here.' Bora *aːnuː* 'this masc.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **Nɨ* 'this, there, thither,' Panoan: Arazaire *nina* 'here,' Marinahua *nɨno* 'here,' Chacobo *nɨa* 'here,' *naː* 'this.' Proto-Waikuruan **a-nːa* 'this fem. coming,' **a-nːi* 'that fem. sitting,' **(e)-nːa* 'this masc. coming,' **(e)-nːi* 'that masc. sitting,' **n-* 'he,' Guaicuru *na* 'here.' Mataco *na* 'here.'

Macro-Ge: Ge: Cayapo *niai* 'this,' Suya *ni* 'this'; Bororo *ñi* 'hither,' *noni* 'there (near you).' Kaingang *ʔæ̃næ̃* 'that.' Fulnio *nyua* 'that.'

• [G15, G23]

774 THIS$_3$ *wi

Almosan: Proto-Algic *we 'this (nonpersonal), *wa 'this (personal), *wo 'this (restricted),' *w- ∼ *wet- ∼ *weʔ 'he, his, Wiyot w-éʔs 'this-hand,' Proto-Algonquian *wiːla 'he, she, it,' *-w-aːši-ka (numeral suffix on 6, 7 and 8, etymologically 'this-hand-left). Proto-Chimakuan *w'a 'in that place.'

Penutian: Zuni w-eši-kkʔa 'left hand' (etymologically identical to the Proto-Algonquian form given above). Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *w-εši 'hand, arm,' Atakapa w-iš ∼ w-oš 'hand, finger,' Chitimacha w-aši 'hand,' Tunica -tír-w-aš 'nail, claw.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan *wili, Huave ow-iš 'arm.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *wi ∼ *wa.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *w-aci 'finger.'

Chibchan: Paya w-iš-ka 'arm.'

Macro-Ge: Fulnio awa 'that,' owa 'this.'

• This demonstrative has become a Stage III article in Algic and Penutian.

775 THIS$_4$ *fei

Chibchan: Yanomam fei.

Paezan: Timucua fa-no 'it is so.'

Andean: Mapudungu fey ∼ fiy 'that,' fente 'that much,' fante 'this much,' fa- 'become like this.'

• Possibly belongs with THAT$_2$ *pa.

776 THIS$_5$ *ga

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *ga(ː), Proto-North Wakashan *ga- 'this (near speaker),' Haisla, Oowekyala, Kwakwala ga 'this (near speaker),' Haisla gas- 'here, this way, on this side,' g^wasʼ- 'here, this side, on this side.'

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath geː.

Andean: Puelche geša de lan 'what is this called?,' genǰofa 'what is this?'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *-gɨ̃ 'he.'

777 THORN *k'ica ∼ kasi

Penutian: California: ?Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *kasːɨ 'prick, bite.' Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean *k'iʔš.

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak *kosi.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *kaša.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan *akića.

778 THOU$_1$ *mi ∼ *ma

Almosan: Proto-Algic *-Vm(ʔ), Yurok -m. Kutenai -m (in reflexive imperatives). Mosan: Salish: Kalispel -əm 'you.'

Penutian: Tsimshian m-. Chinook m- 'thou, thy.' Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *ma, Takelma ma, Proto-Kalapuyan *maː(ha), *matiː 'ye,' Kalapuya maha. Plateau: Klamath mis 'thy,' Proto-Sahaptian *ʔiːm, North Sahaptin am, Nez Perce ʔíˈm. Proto-California *mVn, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *mok-kom 'you pl.,' Rumsien me, Central Sierra Miwok miʔ, Wintu mi, Colouse mit, Patwin mi-, Yokuts maʔ, Proto-Maiduan *min 'you pl.,' Maidu mi, Nisenan mi, Yuki miʔ, Wappo miʔ, Tunica ma, Chitimacha himʔ, Natchez ba 'thou, thee.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *mici, Zoque mimič, Sierra Popoluca miːh ∼ miːč. Totonac mi- 'thy.' Huave -me(r)-.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *mi ∼ *ma, Achomawi mi- 'thy,' Atsugewi miʔ 'thou,' mi- 'thy,' Shasta mayʔi, Chimariko mam-ut 'thou,' -mi 'thy,' Karok iːm, Arra-arra im, Pehtsik eːhm, Washo miː, South Yana ǰu-m 'thy.' Proto-Pomo *ʔaːma 'thou,' *mi 'thy,' *mi-to 'thee,' *ʔaːma-ya 'you (pl.)' Chumash: Santa Barbara p- ∼ pi- ∼ piː-. Salinan moʔ. Esselen miš- 'thy.' Seri me 'thou, you.' Proto-Yuman *m-, *ma-p 'you (object),' Yuma mañ, Mohave manya, manč, Walapai ma, Havasupai ma-a, Yavapai ma-a, Diegueño maː. Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec *mya, Tequistlatec mi. Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco mai- ∼ mi ∼ xamiˈn, Comecrudo emnã, Karankawa m ∼ em(i), Cotoname men.

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *ʔeme 'thou, you,' Proto-Uto-Aztecan *m-, Kawaiisu ʔimi, Utah yim, Opate ʔeméʔe, Yaqui ʔemeʔe, Tarahumara ʔyemi, Papago -m, Hopi uma, Nahuatl mo-, Pipil -mic. Proto-Tanoan *ʔẽm, Jemez ũmiš, Kiowa am 'thou, you.'

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha *mue-ya(-nV), Chibcha mue 'thou,' m- 'thy,' Duit m- 'thy,' Kagaba ma ∼ ba, Bintucua ma, Chimila ámma 'thy,' Proto-Aruak *ma 'thou,' *ma-win 'ye,' Guamaca ma, Cuna pe 'thy,' Muoi ba, Move mo 'thou,' mu 'you,' Norteño mo 'thou,' mu 'you,' Penomeño mo 'thou,' mu 'you,' Murire ba 'thy,' Chumulu ba 'thy,' Gualaca ba 'thy,' Terraba fa, Bribri ma ∼ ba ∼ bo ∼ bi, Cabecar ba, Borunca ba, Rama ma(n) 'you, your,' Miskito man, Sumu man, Ulua man, Paya paː, Lenca am- 'thy,' Cogui má, Ica ma.

Paezan: Choco bere, Catio by ∼ biči 'thou,' mare ∼ mačia 'you,' Ayoman moh.

Andean: Ona m- 'your (sg.),' ma 'you (sg.),' mai ∼ mar 'you (pl.),' Tehuelche m- 'your (sg.),' ma 'you (sg.),' mai ∼ mar 'you (pl.),' Mapudungu eymi 'thou,' mi 'thy,' eymu 'you dual,' mu 'your dual,' eymɨn 'you,' mɨn 'your,' Aymara -ma 'your (sg.),' huma 'you (sg.),' Jaqaru huma, Gennaken kemu, Proto-Quechuan *qam, Quechua kam, Cahuapana kema, Cholona mi 'you

(sg.),' *m-* 'your (sg.)'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **mɨ̃ʔɨ̃* 'thou,' **mɨ̃ʔɨ̃-sã* 'you,' Wanana *mãi* 'you (sg.),' *mi-* 'your (sg.),' Papury *am,* Puinave *ma,* Capixana *mi.* Maku-Puinave *mam.* Proto-Nambikwara **mã* 'your.'

Equatorial: Mocochi *ma,* Chamacoco *p-* 'your (sg.)' Proto-Guahiban **xamɨ,* Guahibo *xámɨ,* Jitnu *kam,* Cuiba *xam,* Guayabero *xam,* Yuracare *me* 'you (sg.),' *mi-* 'your (sg.),' *pa* 'you (pl.),' Cayuvava *p-,* Tupi *pe* 'you (pl.),' Proto-Arawakan **pi* 'you (sg. and pl.),' Itene *ma-,* Abitana *-ma,* Uro *am,* Puquina *pa-* 'you (sg.),' *pi-* ∼ *po-* 'your (sg.),' Gualaquiza *amue,* Aguaruna *ma,* Achuar *amɨ̃* 'thou,' *amin* 'thee,' *ami(nu)* 'thy.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *ama-re,* Bakairí *ama.* Witotoan: Witoto *omo,* Ocaina *mõ-* 'you-two, you (pl.)' Bora: Bora *amuːʔa* 'you pl.,' *amuʔc^{h}i* 'you two masc.,' *amuʔp^{h}ɨ* 'you two fem.' [but *uː* = 'thou']

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Mataco *em,* Vejoz *am,* Choroti *am.* Proto-Waikuruan **ham,* Toba *am.* Proto-Pano-Tacanan **mi,* Proto-Tacanan **mi,* Cavineña *mike,* Tacana *mike, mi-da, mia-da,* Chama *mia,* Reyesano *mibe.* Proto-Panoan **mi* 'thou,' **mato* 'you,' Chacobo *mina,* Cashinahua *mi,* Cashibo *miː,* Marinahua *mĩ,* Mayoruna *miβi,* Shipibo *mia,* Conibo *mia,* Guenoa *emp(-ti)* 'you (sg. and pl.),' Vilela *m-,* Lule *mi-l* 'you (pl.),' Moseten *mi* 'you (sg.),' *mi-in* 'you (pl.),' Nocten *em,* Pacaguara *mi-,* Arazaire *mina.*

Macro-Ge: Caraja *ã.* Dalbergia *ma,* Tibagi *ama,* Catarina *ahama.* Kaingang *ʔã* 'thou,' *ʔãyaʔ* 'you.'

• [Trombetti 1905, G6, Ruhlen 1994i, Ruhlen 1995a] The Amerind pronoun pattern *na* 'I'/*mi* 'you' was explicitly recognized by Alfredo Trombetti a century ago when he noticed its ubiquity in North and South America and its absence elsewhere in the world (Trombetti 1905). My own survey of the world's pronoun systems (Ruhlen 1994i) confirmed Trombetti's observation. I have suggested that this specifically Amerind pronoun pattern may derive from an inclusive-exclusive opposition found in the Old World: *na* 'we exclusive'/*mi* 'we inclusive' (Ruhlen 1995c). Such a change is well supported by diachronic typology. If this is correct, then the Amerind system is related to the we-inclusive/we-exclusive pattern found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic. It is not certain that the forms with non-nasal stops (e.g., *ba, pe*) belong here, but languages such as Bribri—which show variation between *ma* and *ba*—suggest the liklihood that they do. With regard to the original form I think **mi* is more likely, with **ma* being an analogical development based on *na* 'I.'

779 THOU$_2$ **a-*

Penutian: ?Plateau: Klamath *ʔaˈt* 'you pl.,' Nez Perce *ʔeˈtk* 'you pl.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Carib *a-* 'thy,' Pemon *a-.*

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Choroti *a-* 'thy.' Proto-Waikuruan **a-* ∼ **adː-.*

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *a-* 'thy.' Fulnio *a* 'thy.' Bororo *a-* 'thy.' Proto-Ge **a-* 'your,' Kraho *a-* 'thy,' Krenje *a-* 'thy.' Kaingang *ʔã.* Caraja *ã.*
• [G7] This is probably a Ge-Pano-Carib innovation.

780 THOU$_3$ **ka*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **kʔ-* ∼ **kʔet-* ∼ **kʔeʔ-* 'thou,' **VKw* 'you pl.' Proto-Mosan **-k^w.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q^{h}V* 'you pl.,' Coahuilteco *xa-* ∼ *x-* 'thou, thy, your.' Yurumangui *-ka* ∼ *-ken.*
Chibchan: Xinca *ka-* 'thy,' *ka-ay* 'your,' *(na-)ka* 'thou,' Tarascan *-ke(-ni)* (first-person singular acts on second-person singular).
Paezan: Allentiac *ka,* Millcayac *ka* 'thou,' *kaču* 'you.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Kaliana *ka(-be),* Auake *kai(-kiete).*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **ɢa* 'to thee,' **ɢadː-* 'you, your.'
Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **ka.* Erikbatsa *ikia.* Bororo *aki.* Coroado *ga.* Caraja *kai.*
• [G10]

781 THOU$_4$ **ti*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-Vt.* Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *siw'a* 'you pl., you (obj.)'
Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **hs(i)-* 'thou (agent).'
Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Muskogean **či-* 'thou,' **ha-či-* 'you.'
Hokan: Coahuilteco *čik* 'you pl. (subj.)'
Paezan: Timucua *či-* 'you pl.,' *či-ni-* 'you (subj.) . . . me (obj.),' *ni-či* 'I . . . you.'
Andean: Yamana *sina(ki)* 'thy.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *šẽ.*
Macro-Carib: Bora *ti-* 'thy.'

782 THOU$_5$ **hi*

Almosan: Kutenai *-hin-.*
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **hiṣu* 'you (sg.?).' Iroquoian: Tuscarora *iːθ* 'thou, you.'
Paezan: Warao *ihi* 'thou,' *hi* 'thee,' *hi-* 'thy.' Timucua *hi.*
Macro-Carib: Yagua *hiy.*

783 THOU$_6$ **pi* ∼ **pa* ∼ **wa*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-waːw* 'you.' Proto-Mosan **-uwa* ∼ **uw'a.*
Chibchan: Yanomam *wa* 'thou,' *wafɨk* 'you two,' *wa* ∼ *warɨ* 'thee,' *afɨ* ∼ *fɨ* 'your,' *pə* 'I . . . thee,' *pəhəkɨ* 'you dual obj.'
Paezan: Timucua *-ba* ∼ *-bo* 'you pl., we.' Proto-Choco **pɨ.* Allentiac *peklte*

'thy.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara **wʔain* 'you.'

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **pa-n/Ne-* 'your pl.' Proto-Tupi-Guarani **pẽẽ* 'you all.' Pakaasvovos *wahüʔ* 'you.'

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *awe* 'thou,' *wa* 'your,' *woʔo* 'you pl.'

784 THREAD (v.) **kuyo*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-kuːyau* 'thread a needle.'

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **kʷïõ-.*

785 THREE$_1$ **(ne-)qʷaɬas*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **ni-khl,* Proto-Algonquian **neʔɬwi* (< Pre-Algonquian **ne-{k}Vɬ-wi*). Kutenai *qaɬsa-.* Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *qʷali,* Quileute *qʷaʔle*; Proto-Salish **kaʔɬas,* Columbian *kaʔɬás,* Colville *kaʔɬís,* Shuswap *kəɬés,* Thompson *keʔɬés,* Lillooet *keɬés,* Sechelt *čàɬás,* Coeur d'Alene *číɬes,* Kalispel *čeʔɬés,* Upper Chehalis *čáʔɬi.*

Keresiouan: Yuchi *nõ-ka* '3' (cf. *nõ-we* '2').

Penutian: Tsimshian *gul.*

Hokan: Esselen *xulep* (but note also *xulax* '2,' which calls into doubt the cognacy).

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *kaliɬi.*

Andean: Jebero *kala,* Cahuapana *kala* ∼ *kara,* Mapudungu *küla,* Hongote *čalas,* Tehuelche *kaːš.*

Equatorial: Cayuvava *kulápa* ∼ *kurapa.*

Macro-Ge: Opaie *nyukwari*; Ge: Canela *inkre,* Craho *nkri,* Meuren *enkri.*

• [AN113, Ruhlen 1995d]

786 THREE$_2$ **sapin*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **s-p-n,* Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **xipini,* Proto-Kalapuyan *psin.* Proto-California **sVpVn,* Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ṣ-p,* Proto-Yokuts *šoːpʰin,* Proto-Maiduan *sap'ɨy.* Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **ošib'.*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *pɨn,* Totoro *pɨn.*

Equatorial: Arawak: Wayuu *apɨnɨin.*

787 THROAT **nuk'*

Almosan: Kwakwala *nəqwa* 'swallow,' Nootka *n'oʕaq-* 'swallow.'

Keresiouan: Siouan: Tutelo *-nūk-sāʔ* 'nape' (= 'neck-back'). Proto-Iroquoian Oneida *-nuhs-* 'shoulder,'

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptin *nuq'-waš* 'neck,' Klamath *n'awqs.* Gulf: Natchez *naxts,* Proto-Muskogean **nukkʷi* 'neck,' Creek *nokwv* 'neck,' Hitchiti *nōkbebe* 'neck,' Alabama *nokbi.* Mexican: Huave *o-nik* 'neck,'

Mayan: Huastec *nūk'* 'neck,' Chorti *nuk'* 'neck,' Tzotzil *nuk* 'neck,' *nuk'ulal* 'throat,' Kekchi *nuk'* 'swallow.'

Hokan: Salinan: San Antonio *(p-)eːnik'aːi.* Tequistlatec *nuk'* 'swallow.'

Chibchan: Chibcha: Boncota *anokua* 'nape,' Tegria *anukua* 'nape,'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Desana *wɨ-nɨgɨ* 'neck,' Tucano *veː-nexko* 'neck,' Siona *naxe-seamu* 'nape' (= 'neck-back'), Pioje *naxe-mu* 'neck,' Coto *nyaxe-teka* 'nape, throat,' Puinave: Curiari *nõhũi* 'neck,'

Equatorial: Proto-Arawakan **nuki* 'neck,' Maipuran: Piro *noxi* 'neck,' Waraquena *nokane* 'nape,' Carutana *nouxe* 'nape,' Waimare *nukuluaka.*

Macro-Carib: Andoke *ka-ñekkhə(iː)hih* 'neck.'

Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Tacana *enaha* 'neck,'

- [A255] This root is also found in Uralic and Altaic (Ruhlen 1994g).

788 THROW$_1$ **aka*

Hokan: Comecrudo *aka,* Tonkawa *kā.*

Andean: Aymara *aha,* Zaparo *aha.*

- [H149, AN114]

789 THROW$_2$ **t'amp* ∼ **tamp*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptin **tam.* Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **top* 'throw something.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **T'am* ∼ *T'ap,* Proto-Yuman **tap,* Tipai *atap,* Yavapai *tami*; Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *t'am,* Comecrudo *tap.*

- [H147]

790 TIE (v.) **tak'*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **takt.* Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **st'ik*^{w} 'tie a knot.' California: Proto-Yokuts **ṭ'ik'(i).* Gulf: Proto-North Yuki **t'əy,* Wappo *ṭ'íškhiʔ* 'tied tight,' Natchez *ʔicak-heluːʔiš,* Muskogean: Chickasaw *takci.*

Chibchan: Chibcha: Tegria *tak* 'attach,' Manare *tataka* 'attach'; Motilon: Dobocubi *dök* 'tie a knot.'

Paezan: Atacama *tak'al.*

- [CP197]

791 TOBACCO **hici*

Penutian: Gulf: Muskogean: Creek *hici.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **hʔə̱ic.*

792 TONGUE$_1$ **kapi*

Chibchan: Yanomam *kafik* 'language, mouth.' Chibchan: Tegria, Bon-

cota, Chumulu, Gualaca, Changuena *kuba,* Sinsiga *kuhua.* Rama *kuːp* ∼ *mukup.*

Equatorial: Arawakan: Wañam *kabikaču,* Itene *kapaya,* Urupa, Yaru *kapi-akasi,* Abitana, Kumana *kapiyakati,* Tora *kepiat.*

793 TONGUE$_2$ **nene*

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **-ʔen.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **hen* 'lick,' **HEnV* 'tongue.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **neni* ∼ **nan.* Tanoan: Kiowa *dẽ.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **ya(H)(n).*

Paezan: Allentiac, Millcayac *nanat.* Guambiana *nañri.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Catauisi *no* 'tongue.' Proto-Tucanoan **nẽʔnẽ* 'lick,' Tucano *nene* 'lick.' Elotasu *año-heru.*

Equatorial: Cayuvava *i-ne.* Jivaro: Shuara *iñe,* Gualaquiza *iñei,* Aguaruna *inei-inei.* Kariri: Dzubucua *nunu,* Kamaru *nunuh,* Kariri *ñunu,* Sapuya *nunü.* Proto-Maipuran **nene,* Piapoco *wa-nene,* Achagua *-iːnaneː,* Curipaco *no-enene,* Kustenau *nu-nei,* Cauishana, Ipurina, Machiguenga *-nene,* Wapishana *u-nenu,* Toyeri *wu-onu.* Otomaco: Otomaco *yonna,* Taparita *yonan.* Piaroa: Piaroa *ne,* Saliba *anene.* Trumai *a-no.* Tupi: Tupy, Guaraní *ñẽʔẽ,* Apichum *o-nyon.* Achuar *inãĩ.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *yane.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ana,* Maruba, Nocaman, Nucuini, Waninawa *ana,* Tushinana *anan,* Poyanawa *anda,* Culino *anu,* Panobo, Cashibo, Conibo, Chama, Chacobo *hana,* Nehanawa *huna,* Sensi *yata.* Proto-Tacanan **e-yana.*

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *yaːthe* 'language of the Fulnio.' Proto-Ge **ñõtɔ,* Suya *wã-noto,* Kraho *i-yɔʔto,* Karaho *yoto,* Sakamekran *yontou,* Piokobye *to,* Jeico *ɛ-neta,* Taje, Krenje *pa-yõto,* Makamekran *i-nonto,* Kaingang *i-ñona, nene, none, une.* Cayapo *i-ñoto,* Apinage *ñoto.* Chiquito: Chiquito *otu,* Mehin *i-yoto,* Churapa *i-yuto* 'my tongue,' San Simoniano *natɛ.*

• [A257, A258] This root is also found in Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

794 TONGUE$_3$ **paɬ*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **wiːɬani* 'his tongue.' Kutenai *waɬuˈnak.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **waːčɨni.*

Penutian: Proto-Gulf **n-welu,* Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **weli,* Atakapa *nel,* Eastern Atakapa *neɬe,* Chitimacha *wen'.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i/a-)pal^y* ∼ **ipawa* (K), **pel^y* ∼ **pen^y* (K) 'lick,' *(ʔe)baHleː* (L), Achomawi *ip^{h}le,* Atsugewi *ap^{h}li,* Chimariko *hi-pen,* Comecrudo *expen,* Jicaque *pelam,* Karok *aprih,* Salinan: San Antonio *epaːl,* San Miguel *ipaɬ*; Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **peɬ,* Tequistlatec *-apaɬ,*

Proto-Pomo *haʔbaʎ ∼ *hawba, East Pomo *bal*, Southeast Pomo *bal*, Proto-Yuman *ʔimpaɬ ∼ *ipaɬ*∼ *ʔimpal ∼ *(y)pal*, Maricopa *hipaʎ*, Walapai *ipaːl*; Seri *ʔapɬ*, Waicuri *ma-bela*.

Paezan: Timucua *bali* 'tongue, mouth,' *heba* 'language, speak, say, tell.'

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban *e-barɨ-to-kopi-a 'tongue tip,' Guahibo *pe-eː-barɨ-to* 'tongue,' Playero *pe-e-bor-to* 'tongue,' Cuiba *pe-eba-to* 'tongue,' Jitnu *p-ebrat* 'tongue.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara *pəil.

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan *-pe.

• [H151]

795 TONGUE$_4$ *lat

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *laː-. Proto-Chimakuan *-ɬito.

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *ʔel-a-*. California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan *ʔ-l/n 'tongue, lick,' Proto-Yokuts *ʔalat' 'lick.'

796 TONGUE$_5$ *tuk^w

Almosan: Proto-Salish *t'aq^w 'lick,' *tix^w-(aʔ-)c- 'tongue.'

Penutian: California: Wintu *tahal*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *toːc.

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(Y)te(H) 'tongue, face.'

Chibchan: Misumalpan *taki*. Sumo, Ulua *tuke*.

Paezan: Timucua *itukʷa*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *tï(ʔï)-*.

Macro-Ge: Bororo *ki-taho*. Ge: Piokobye *to*.

797 TONGUE$_6$ *nem

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-North Yuki *nəmlat, Yuki *namlat*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Ubde-Nehern *nemmei* 'lick,' Papury *nemöi* 'lick.' Proto-Tucanoan *Yẽʔmẽ-rõ/yõ.

Macro-Panoan: Moseten, Chimane *nem*.

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *numeraŋ* 'lick.' Kaingang: Aweikoma *nemindaŋ* 'lick,' *a-numa-ma* 'tongue.'

798 TOOTH$_1$ *it'io

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ačhuri* 'eat.' Proto-Keresan *-c'eːnad^{z}a 'chew.' Proto-Siouan *rúti 'eat' (*rú- is probably an instrumental prefix), Biloxi, Ofo *ti* 'eat.'

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *ti*. Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *tɨt*. California: Proto-Maiduan *c'away*. Gulf: Wappo *c'e* 'eat,' *c'eye* 'eat up.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *tɨːc*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *i-ʔcow ∼ *i-ʔčow 'tooth,' *uc'i 'chew,' Atsugewi *iʔcaw*, Chimariko *h-uc'u*, Shasta *icau*, Yahi *ki-c'au-na*. Proto-Yuman *č-

aw 'eat hard food.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tam*, Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)te(n)* 'chew.'

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **za* 'eat.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *de* ∼ *di*.

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **ahce*. Yaru *iti(-či)*, Achagua *esi*, Uro *atse*, Callahuaya *iti* 'bite.' Cayuvava *ai-če*. Macu *ce-um*. Kariri: Kariri, Dzubucua *d^{z}a*, Cocama *d^{z}ai*, Sapuya *za*, Kamuru *zah*.

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Hairuya *a-tig^{y}o*, Ocaina *atik^{y}o*, Muinane *itie*.

Macro-Ge: Otuke *itio*, Chiquito *coː*, Proto-Ge **cwa*, Macuni *tsioi* ∼ *eti-öi*. Caraja *tǰu*. Monosho *a-čowe*. Hahahay *ãn-ču*. Mongoyo, Kutasho *dio*. Fulnio *tshǫ* 'gnaw.' Kamakan *txo*.

• [H152, CA83, E117, MG113]

799 TOOTH$_2$ **nan*

Almosan: Kutenai *unān*. Proto-Mosan **-nis*.

Chibchan: Cacaopera *nini*, Ulua *ana*. Yanomam *na*.

Paezan: Atacama *enne*.

Equatorial: Tupi: Tupari *ñain*, Arikem *ñãya*, Wayoro *o-nyain*, Kepkeriwat *i-ñaĩn*, Dourados *nenai*, Digüt *nĩ*. Jivaro: Upano *inai*, Achuar, Gualaquiza *nai*, Achual *nayi*, Aguaruna *ñai*.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *ne* 'eat.'

• [AK194, CP202]

800 TOOTH$_3$ **kan*

Chibchan: Aruak: Bintucua *gan* 'chew, bite.'

Paezan: Atacama *k'in* 'gnaw.' Warrau *kani* 'chew, bite.' Timucua *kana* 'have to eat.'

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **xane* ∼ **xaNe* 'eat.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *koːne* 'tooth.' Bora: Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *ma-ɣynieng* 'tooth,' Yagua *ixiana, oxana* 'tooth.'

• [A60]

801 TOOTH$_4$ **kita*

Penutian: California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **kɨ(ː)t* ∼ **kɨtːɨ-*.

Paezan: Proto-Choco **k^{h}ida*, Choco, Baudo, Waunana, Tado, Chami *kida*,Catio, N'gvera *čida*, Saija *xida*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ṣïta*, Panobo, Conibo, Chama, Caripuna *seta*, Culino *sita*, Nishinawa *xeta*, Maruba *čita*, Cashibo *d^{z}eta*, Pilaga *kada-ete*, Toba *kada-uve*, Komlek *kado-daiti*. Vejoz *no-čete* ∼ **no-cote^x*. Mataco *no-cote*.

802 TOOTH$_5$ *ʔik

Almosan: Kutenai -*ʔik*- 'eat.' Proto-Mosan *-*ʔiks* 'eat,' Proto-Chimakuan **q'ik'^{w}o-* ∼ **q'ik'^{w}i-* 'chew.' Wakashan: Kwakwala *qika* 'chew gum.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **hi.*
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **ʔeːh,* Proto-Quichean *eːh.*
Hokan: Comecrudo *i.* Karankawa *e* ∼ *ey* ∼ *eg.*
Andean: Mapudungu *i-* 'eat.'
Paezan: Timucua *he* 'eat.' Mariusa *i.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Cataushi *hi-i.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pariri *kiʔiko,* Yupe, Chaque *kiːko,* Macoa *kiyiːko.* Proto-Witotoan **iːʔ-gi-.*
Macro-Ge: Yabuti: Yabuti *hi-dö.* Fulnio *ʔi* 'eat meat.'

803 TOOTH$_6$ **yok'*

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *yukʔal.*
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **yoːʔ.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Marahan *yö-tog.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Panare *yoʔon,* Acawai *yu,* Pianocoto *yu-tali.*
Macro-Ge: Meniens *yo.*

804 TOUCAN **cuk*

Andean: Zaparo *čauka.*
Equatorial: Achuar *cukaŋka.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan *ṣuk(ʷ)ɨ,* Proto-Panoan **ṣokï,* Proto-Tacanan **coke* ∼ **çukwe.*

805 TREE$_1$ **man* ∼ **min*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *-*minšy* 'tree,' **manehɬeːwa* 'cut wood, gather firewood.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **man* 'cedar.'
Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **momu* 'fern.'
Paezan: Proto-Choco **meme* 'chonta palm.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **mãkã-roka/dɨ̃gɨ̃* 'woods, brush.' Catuquina: Catuquina *oma,* Parawa *uma,* Bendiapa *umank,* Canamari *unaŋ.*
Macro-Carib: Bora: Bora *umeʔe,* Miranya *i-mæ,* Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *ymaːna.* Proto-Witotoan **(aï)me-,* Witoto *amena,* Ocaina *amuːnna,* Orejone *anaina.* Yagua *niːn.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ainani.*

- [A260]

806 TREE$_2$ *qan ~ *qal

Almosan: Mosan: Chimakuan: Quileute *q'aɬba* 'yellow cedar.' Wakashan: Nootka *ʕ'aɬma-pt* 'yellow cedar.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **haːniː* 'pine.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *ɢan.* Chinook *ičkan* 'wood.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *hol,* Clear Lake *hol* 'wood,' Huchnom, Yuki *ol.* Mexican: Huave *šiəl,* Proto-Mixe-Zoque **huːn-i.*

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **q^{h}aːle.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ka(n)* 'willow.' Proto-Tanoan **hũ* 'cedar.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)ka* 'palm tree.'

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **kan,* Kagaba *kalli,* Guamaca, Bintucua *kann.* Chibcha: Chibcha *tse-ganny-ka* 'crutch,' Margua *kar(-kua).* Guaymi: Muoi *kan* 'wood.' Motilon: Dobocubi *kañ* 'bamboo.' Rama *kat.* Talamanca: Bribri *kar.* Yanomam *kanawə* 'cedar.'

Paezan: Andaqui *sa-kani-fi* 'forked stick.' Itonama *kana* 'pole.'

Andean: Yamana *haniš* 'oak.' Qawasqar *q^{h}ar* 'tree, stick, bone.'

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *ka.*

- [A261]

807 TREE$_3$ *temba

Penutian: California: Miwok: Lake Miwok *tumay* 'stick, wood,' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **t–w–n* 'digger pine,' Proto-Yokuts **t'ep^{h}in* 'acorn,' Proto-Maiduan **towan* 'digger pine.' Gulf: Atakapa *com* 'stick.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *čamiy* 'staff.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tiquie *temba* 'firewood,' Kaliana *taba.*

Equatorial: Toyeri *nemba* 'forest,' Saliba *rampo* 'forest,' Zamuco *ẽrãp* 'forest.'

Macro-Carib: Andoke *doapa* 'forest,' Peba *tapasey.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **tomi* 'palm tree.'

- [P235, MT95, E47, MC71]

808 TREE$_4$ *hapa

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-pa(t)* 'tree, bush, plant,' Chimakuan: Quileute *-pat* 'tree, plant'; Wakashan: Nootka *-(ma)pt* 'tree, plant.' ?Proto-Salish **ʁ/ɣap.* Wakashan: Haisla, Heiltsuk *hp-* 'cone of a tree.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **haːbani* 'oak.'

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *po-p* 'alder.' Plateau: Klamath *biw-c'eːw* 'juniper berry,' Nez Perce *puhus* 'juniper,' Proto-Sahaptian **paːpš* 'fir,' Sahaptin *puːš* 'juniper.' California *baq* 'wood.' Gulf: Muskogean: Hitchiti *abi,* Natchez *pa* 'plant,' Proto-Yuki **pup* 'ash,' Huchnom *ipo.* Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **puh-kuy* 'tree (sp.),' **hepey* 'tree, plant.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *-əbV 'tree,' *Pahe 'pepperwood,' *baːšə 'buckeye,' *ipa ∼ *(i)Pa 'juniper,' Proto-Pomo *bahːebʔ 'pepperwood.'
Chibchan: Tarascan p^hukuṛi 'pine.' Rama *bas.*
Paezan: Itonama *abɨte.* Proto-Choco *pak^huru.* Timucua *yapi* 'palmetto.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara *hapiːc 'tree, stick.' Iranshe p^yɨʔi 'woods, forest.'
Equatorial: Arawakan: Arawa: Culino *awa*; Maipuran: Yavitero *awa-bo* 'forest'; Uro: Uro *wa.* Proto-Tupi-Guarani *ʔɨβ ∼ *ɨβɨra. Pakaasnovos *pana* 'tree, wood.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan *bana. Proto-Panoan *βĩpiš ∼ *βoko.
Macro-Ge: Mashakali, Kapasho, Kumansho *abaʔai,* Macuni *aboʔoi.*
• [P261, E118]

809 TREE$_5$ *neki

Penutian: California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *nɨkɨs 'poison oak.' Gulf: Proto-Yuki *neh 'pine,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *neš 'tree, wood,' Chitimacha *nik'i* 'gum tree,' Natchez *nikš* 'gum tree.'
Andean: Itucale *eneɣa,* Zaparoan: Zaparo *naku* 'forest,' *nakuna* 'tree,' Iquito *naki* 'forest.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *nẽʔẽ-yu/pu 'miriti palm tree.' Iranshe *naːkeʔi.* Movima *nihnaiwa* 'palm.'
Equatorial: Piaroa *nũgu.*
Macro-Carib: Yagua *niːn.*
• AN116

810 TREE$_6$ *ʔaxa

Almosan: Proto-Algic *-VʔV 'tree, stem,' Proto-Algonquian *-aːxkw 'wood.'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *(a)hkar* 'wood.'
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *ʔaha 'cedar.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan *(a-)χay 'tree,' *ax^ya 'cottonwood,' *a-Haw 'fire(wood),' Proto-Pomo *ʔahχay 'wood,' Proto-Yuman *ʔahaːʔ 'cottonwood.'
Paezan: Timucua *aha* 'white oak.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *aʔa* 'tree, wood, stick.'

811 TREE$_7$ *hama

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan *ham'aʔa.
Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *ham(ay)-kuy 'hog plum tree.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Catuquina *oma,* Parawa *uma.*
Macro-Carib: Bora *umeʔe.*

812 TREE$_8$ *ɬok' ∼ *ɬoq'

Almosan: Kutenai *ɬok'* 'wood, firewood.' Mosan: Salish: Proto-Interior Sal-

ish **ɬux*^{w} 'bushes thicket.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **laːkkʔ* 'wood.'

Penutian: Plateau: Nez-Perce *laːqa* 'pine,' Klamath *lalaːq'o* 'pine gum.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ɬuː* 'tree, wood.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **ɬo* 'tree, wood.'

813 TREE$_9$ **kul*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-North Wakashan **k'*^{w}*l-* 'cottonwood, poplar.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **kuːreh* 'oak, acorn,' Tuscarora *kuːreh* 'acorn.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **k*^{yh}*uL* 'white oak.'

Andean: Mapudungu *kɨl-kɨl* 'fern.'

814 TREE (OAK)$_1$ **teq' ~ taq'*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-aːtekw* 'tree, wood.'

Penutian: Chinook *-teː* (in compounds). Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **taχš* 'willow,' Nez Perce *taχs* 'willow,' Klamath *toq'-s.* California: Maidu *də* 'bushes.' Zuni *ta* 'tree,' *taʔwi* 'oak.' Gulf: Atakapa *te-* (in *te-waš* 'leaf'); Natchez *d*^{z}*uː*; Muskogean: Choctaw *iti,* Alabama *itoː,* Creek *ito.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan **teʔ ~ t*^{y}*eːʔ* 'tree, wood,' Proto-Quichean **čeːʔ* tree, wood.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **TaK'* 'black oak,' Proto-Pomo **ṭ*^{h}*oʔo(ː)* 'acorn, mush.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Azteco-Tanoan **tu,* Proto-Tanoan **tu,* Tewa *te,* Taos *tuɬo-na.* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tua* 'oak.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *čikaṛi* 'wood.' Barbacoan: Colorado *te* 'wood.'

Paezan: Timucua *tuku* 'oak tree, acorn.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **-dɨ* 'tree-like, part of the woods.'

Equatorial: Esmeralda *tate.* Kariri: Dzubucua *d*^{z}*i* 'wood,' Kamaru *ci* 'firewood.' Proto-Maipuran **anda(-mɨ-na),* Mehinacu, Waura, Yaulapiti *ada,* Arawak *adda,* Mandauaca, Uainuma *aːta.* Otomaco *andu.* Trumai *dei* 'tree, wood.' Yaruro *ando.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Surinam *itu* 'forest,' Apiaca *itua* 'forest,' Pemon *dek ~ yek.* Witoto: Witoto *atikö, xatike* 'forest,' Coeruna *acaitto* 'forest.' Yagua *toha, toː, tɔx* 'forest.'

Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *atek*x 'cedar.'

- [A259]

815 TREE (OAK)$_2$ **k'*^{w}*in*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **k'inim* 'acorn.' Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k'ančini* 'oak.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **kuy* 'tree, wood.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **k*^{w}*ap* 'oak,' **wey* 'oak,' **q'*^{w}*aːk*^{h}*ulV* 'acorn of white oak,' Proto-Pomo **wiyu* 'oak.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k*^{w}*ɪ(ni) ~ *wi* 'acorn,' **kui* 'tree.'

Proto-Tanoan *k^wẽ 'oak.' Proto-Oto-Manguean *(h)k^wa(h)(n) 'pine tree.'
Chibchan: Yanomam *kanawə* 'cedar tree.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *qiwña ~ *qinwa 'tree.' ?Mapudungu *šiweñ* 'acorn.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *-kɨ 'tree-like, part of the woods.'
Macro-Carib: Proto-Hianacoto *wewe 'tree.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *iwi 'tree.' Moseten *iːvi* 'willow.'
• Cf. TREE$_2$.

816 TREMBLE *tuk^w

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *tux^w-.
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *čukču (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).

817 TURKEY *kutu

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan *k^{w}uc 'male turkey.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Tanimuca *kuyuwi-ka* 'guan.'
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban *kuYu-wi 'guan,' Guahibo, Cuiba *kuyuwi* 'guan,' Guayabero *kočo* 'guan,' Jivaro: Achuar *kuyu* 'guan,' Maipuran: Piapoco *kutuwi* 'guan.'
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tucanoan *kuṣu 'wild turkey,' Proto-Panoan *koṣo 'kind of wild turkey,' Proto-Tacanan *kucu ~ *koco 'wild turkey.'

818 TURN *maya

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *may(n)- 'turn, twist.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan *muyu-.
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *maya-.

819 TURTLE$_1$ *hola

Keresiouan: ?Proto-Keresan *heyaǰi.
Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *ʔolo,* Muskogean: Creek *holaːkwa.*
Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban *hala 'river turtle.'

820 TURTLE$_2$ *kuli

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *ko.
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *ik^{y}uri.* Saliba *ikuli* 'tortoise.' Tucanoan: Wanano, Piratapuyo *ku-ri* 'turtle, tortoise,' Tuyuca, Yaruti *kuː* 'turtle, tortoise,' Barasano *guː* 'tortoise.'
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran *hikuli 'tortoise,' Achagua *iːkuli* 'tortoise,' Piapoco *ikuli* 'turtle, tortoise.' Guahiban: Guahibo *iːkuli* 'tortoise'; Piaroa: Saliba *ikuli.*
Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Taranoan *kuriča 'tortoise,' Carijona *kurisa.*

Witotoan: Nipode *huri.*

821 TWO$_1$ **(ne-)pale*

Almosan: Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *-paɬa* '. . . on each side,' *-paˑɬ* 'half . . .'

Keresiouan: Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan (Wolff) **nũpa,* Catawba *nãpari,* Woccon *numperre,* Dakota *nṹpa,* Mandan *nup,* Osage *nõba,* Crow *nūp,* Chiwere *nowe,* Biloxi *nõpá,* Tutelo *pāropreh* '4,' Ofo *núpa.* Yuchi *nõwé.*

Penutian: Tsimshian *məla* 'both.' Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **Nèpû,* Sahaptin *nápu,* Nez Perce *lepú,* Cayuse *leplin* (**neplin* > *leplin* by assimilation), Klamath *laˑb,* Molale *leːpkaʔ.* California: Wintun *paˑle-t, paˑl wint^{h}uh* 'forty' (literally, 'two persons'), Patwin *p'an-* 'twins.' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **p–n,* Proto-Maiduan **pen,* Maidu *pene.* Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *nop* 'twins,' Wappo *p'áˑla* 'twins,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **pa,* Eastern Atakapa *hapalst,* Western Atakapa *wošpe* '2' (= 'hand' + '2'), Chitimacha *ʔupa,* Tunica *ʔapálkali* 'doubled,' Muskogean: Alabama *paɬ-* ∼ *paɬat-* 'to split in two.' Mexican: Huave *apoːl* 'snap in two,' Totonac *-pala* '. . . again' (verb suffix).

Hokan: Washo *buʔ-* (dual prefix). Yuman: Havasupai *hopá* '4,' Walapai *hupáʔ* '4.' Coahuiltecan: Comecrudo *pa-* '2' (in the numerals *pa-nawuyi* '6' [cf. *nawui* '4'] and *pa-makwel* '7' [cf. *makwel* '5']). Subtiaba *apu,* Tlappanec *áˑpˑùˑ* 'twice.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 222 **(h)k^{w}a(h)(n)* 'two.'

Chibchan: Xinca *bi-al* ∼ *pi-ar.* Lenca *pa* ∼ *pe.* Chibcha: Tegria, Manare *bukai,* Pedraza *bukuay,* etc. Cuna *po-kwa.* Guaymi: Murire *-bu,* Muoi *-bu,* Move *-bu, bokoloro* 'twin.' Misumalpan: Matagalpa, Cacaopera *buru,* Miskito *wal* '2,' *walwal* '4,' Ulua *bo,* Sumo *bū,* Twahka *bo,* and Panamaka *bu.* Paya *pok.* Rama *puksak, pukakba* 'twin.' Talamanca: Bribri *bul* ∼ *bur,* Terraba *krá-bu* '2' (cf. *krá-ra* '1,' *krá-miá* '3'), Tirub *pugda,* Estrella, Chiripo *bor,* Cabecar *ból* ∼ *bur.* Yanomama: Sanema *pola-kapi* 2,' *-palo* (repetitive suffix; cf. the Totonac verb suffix cited above), Yanomami *pora-kapɨ,* Yanomam *pora-kapi* (the second element in these forms is probably a reflex of HAND$_9$ **q'ap* ∼ **k'ap.* Proto-Nambikwara **p'aːl(-in),* Northern Nambikwara *p'ãːn,* Sabane *paʔlin* ∼ *balene.*

Paezan: Atacama *poya.* Barbacoan: Cara *pala,* Colorado *palu-(ga),* '2,' *umbálu-(ga)* '4,' Cayapa *pal^{y}u,* Awa *pas,* Totoro *pa,* Guambiano *pa.* Chimu: Mochica *paš.* Paez: Guambiana *pay.*

Andean: Mapudungu *epu.* Aymara *pa* '2,' *pa-tunka* '20' (*-tunka* '10' is a borrowing from Quechua). Quechuan: Quechua (Wanka) *pula* 'both,' Quechua (Ancash) *pullan* 'half,' Proto-Quechuan (Parker) **-pa* (a repetitive suffix on verbs; cf. the Totonac and Sanema suffixes cited above), **-pas* (a nominal enclitic meaning 'too, also'). Cholona *ip.* Gennaken:

Pehuelche *pe-č* (cf. *ge-č* 'three'). Yamana: Yahgan *i-pai* 'we two,' *-pai, -pa, -pi* (nominal dual).

Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquinan: Catuquina *upaua,* Canamari, Bendiapa *ubawa.* Puinave: Hubde *mbeːre,* Puinave *mbeː, be.* Ticuna *peia.* Tucano: Yahuna *ipo,* Waikina *pia-ro,* Chiranga *perú,* Tucano, Waikina, Uanana *péaro,* Tuyuca *peálo,* Wanana *peáro,* Desana *peru,* Yupua *apara,* and Uasöna *peãLo.*

Equatorial: Arawakan: Baniva *enāba.* Tupi: Curuaya *porá-kã,* Monde *parašerám,* Sanamaica *pali-šarú,* Wayampi *pali* 'play area for children' (described as follows: "a play area for children inside a house which is made by cutting the space in two by means of a low barrier in the middle of the house" [Grenand, 1989, p. 337]). Murato: Murato *tsím-boro,* Shapra *tsím-boro.*

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Chunupi *ne-pu,* Churupi *napu* ∼ *nepu,* Chulupi *napu* (these Mataco forms are strikingly similar to the Proto-Sahaptin reconstruction [**Nèpû*] cited above). Moseten: Moseten *pára,* Chimane *pöre.*

Macro-Ge: Caraho *pa-* 'we-two-inc.' ?Chikriaba *prane.*

• [A262, Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994, Ruhlen 1995d] This root is also found in Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Dravidian, Indo-Pacific, Australian, and Austric (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

822 TWO$_2$ **ʔaku*

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *kaːʔ-m.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan **ak-* 'we two, we,' **kaʔ-* 'two.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **haq^{h}u* ∼ **Hɔ̃ːHq^{h}ɔ̃,* Proto-Pomo **ʔaq^{h}oc,* Proto-Coahuiltecan **axte,* Coahuilteco *axteʼ.* Achomawi *haq,* Chimariko *xoku,* Karok *ʔaxak,* San Antonio *kakšu,* Tequistlatec *koːk^h,* Tonkawa *haikia.* Proto-Yuman **x-wak,* Cocopa *xawak.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **woka* ∼ **wo* ∼ **wa.*

Andean: Yamana *aku* 'other,' Tehuelche *kayuko* 'other,' Mapudungu *ka* 'other.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Palmela *aha,* Yecuana *ake,* Paraviyana *aköunien,* Decuana *hake,* Waiana *hakene,* Caribisi, Caribe, Tivericoto *oko,* Galibi *okuo.*

Macro-Panoan: Lengua *aʔanit.* Kaskiha *hãkãnit.*

• [H153, AN82] This is, of course, the etymology from which the Hokan branch of Amerind got its name, just as TWO$_1$ above is the etymology from which the Penutian branch of Amerind got its name. As can be seen, *neither* root characterizes either branch, both being *Amerind* roots found in Hokan, Penutian, and other branches. The name Penutian is really a misnomer. This branch should have been called Palutian, not Penutian, since

the root is basically *pal*, not *pen*, as shown in Penutian, Amerind and beyond (Ruhlen 1995d).

823 TWO$_3$ **wi* ∼ **wa*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **wiːnletwiwaki* 'call each other,' **wiːntamawetwiwaki* 'tell each other.'
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **ǰuː-wʼeː.*
Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *wiʔin* 'other.'
Hokan: Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **ʔɔwe* 'other.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)wi(n)* 'two, twins.' Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **wə(ye)*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan **wo* ∼ **wa* ∼ **woka.* Proto-Tanoan **wi* ∼ **wV*, Taos *wi-.*
Andean: Quechua *wah* 'other,' Auca *wa* 'other.'
• [CA86, AN83]

824 TWO$_4$ **tuk*

Chibchan: Rama *tuksa* 'second.'
Paezan: Timucua *toka* 'other, more.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Masaca *atuka*, Huari *atukai.*
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *tuku karakan* 'two (facing each other).'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Uaimiri *tukunuma.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **tiʔkï* 'break in two pieces.'

825 TWO$_5$ **pit*

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **pit.*
Chibchan: Talamanca: Chiripo *botke*, Viceyta *buteva.* Yanoama: Paucosa *botokaki.*
Paezan: Barbacoan: Paez *βite* 'other.'
Andean: Puelche *beč*, Gennaken *pɛč.*
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **api*, Lapachu *api*, Campa *apiti*, Toyeri *botta*, Achagua *áabata.* Tupi: Shipaya *bida.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **beta*, Tacana, Tumupasa, Isiama, Araona, Sapiboca, Maropa, Cavineña, Arasa *beta.* Panoan: Yamiaca *bota*, Arazaire *buta.*

826 TWO$_6$ **mok*

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **mo*, Guamaca *moa*, Atanque, Bintucua *moga.* Malibu: Chimila *muxua.*
Paezan: Mura: Bohura *mukui.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Parana Boa-Boa *magčig.*
Equatorial: Arawak: Chamicuro *maʔa poxta.* Proto-Tupi-Guarani **mokõy*, Tapirape, Guajajara *mukui*, Dourados *moːgai*, Guarani, Mbyha, Sheta,

Turiwara, Chane *mokoi,* Tupinamba, Potiguara, Neengatu, Caingua *mokoin,* Tupi *mokoĩ,* Manaje *moku.*

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *mok* 'other, more.'

827 TWO$_7$ **men*

Paezan: Warao, Mariusa *manamo.*

Equatorial: Tupi: Guayaqui *meno.*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **menai-*, Witoto *mena,* Caimito *menahe.* Peba *monomoira.* Bora: Bora *minieke?e,* Muinane *minoke.*

828 TWO$_8$ **kom*

Chibchan: Guaymi: Chumulu *kumat,* Gualaca *kumox.*

Andean: ?Yamana *kampay.* Zaparoan: Iquito *koːmi,* Cahuarano *komu.*

829 TWO$_9$ **pok*

Chibchan: Talamanca: Brunca *bug,* Tirub *pug-da.* Chibcha: Tegria, Boncota, Manare *bukai,* Pedraza *bukoi.* Paya *pok.* Cuna: Cueva *poka.* Rama *puksak.*

Paezan: Chimu: Puruha *pax.* Timucua *pakano* 'second, subsequent.'

Andean: Aymara: Cauqi *paha.*

830 TWO$_{10}$ **sak*

Andean: Selknam *šoki.* ?Proto-Quechuan **iškay.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Cataushi *sahe.*

Equatorial: Tinigua *saxansesa.* Arawak: Mapidian *asagu.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **sɨkɨnɨlɨ,* Mapoyo *sakane,* Taurepan *sake?ene,* Arecuna *sakeine,* Rucuyene *sakene,* Umaua *sakenele,* Pemon *sakne,* Urucuyena *šakene,* Carijona *sekenere,* Tliometesen *sokororo,* Yauarana *asake,* Parucoto *asakene,* Cachuena, Waiwai *asaki,* Apalai, Apingi *asakoro,* Acawai *asakro,* Cumanagota *asakve,* Yauapery *asiki.*

831 TWO$_{11}$ **take*

Almosan: A;gic: ?Proto-Algonquian **takw-* 'between two items, among.'

Chibchan: Motilon: Dobocubi *take.*

Equatorial: Piaroa: Maco *tagus.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Yao *tage,* Chayma *ačak,* Tamanaco *ačake,* Arara, Pariri *atag,* Nahukwa *atake.*

832 TWO$_{12}$ **tap*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **taːpaw-* 'two, two of a kind,' ?**tepaːɬetwiwaki* 'love each other.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Coto *tepe.* Puinave: Dou *tubm.*
Equatorial: Tupi: Mawe *tepui.*
Macro-Panoan: Panoan: Caripuna *taboe.*

833 TWO$_{13}$ **yama*

Paezan: Millcayac, Allentiac *yemen* 'two, others.'
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **yama,* Tariana *yamaite,* Yukuna *hiama.* Proto-Tupi-Guarani **amõ* 'other.'
Macro-Ge: Yabuti: Yabuti *yɛmbo.*
• Cf. TWO$_7$ *men.*

834 UNCLE **kaka*

Almosan: Kutenai *kokt* 'maternal aunt.' Mosan: Salish: Nisqualli *kukh* 'older brother,' Okanagan *kīka* 'older sister,' Shuswap *kix* 'older sister,' Kalispel *qax̄e* 'maternal aunt,'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *-hak* 'aunt,' Tuscarora *gus-xahg* 'paternal aunt.' Caddoan: Adai *ahhi* 'aunt.' Siouan: Hidatsa *ika* 'aunt.'
Penutian: Oregon: Alsea *hāʔt* 'older brother,' Tfalatik *kaka* 'aunt.' California: Miwok: Bodega Miwok *kaːka,* Southern Sierra Miwok *kaka.* Zuni *kaka* 'maternal uncle.' Gulf: Yuki *kīk-an* 'maternal uncle,' Natchez *kāka* 'older brother.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *ahč* 'older brother,' Sayula *axč* 'older brother, uncle,' Kekchí *as'* 'older brother,' Zoque *ʔaci* 'older brother'; Totonac *kuku.*
Hokan: Hokan: Achomawi *kex,* East Pomo *kēq,* North Pomo *-ki-* 'older brother,' Kashaya *-ki-* 'older brother,' Salinan *kaai* 'older brother,' Karok *xukam,* Jicaque *kokam.*
Central Amerind: Tewa *koʔō* 'aunt,' Varohio *kukuri* 'paternal uncle,' *ka'ká* 'maternal aunt,' Ixcatec *kwaʔa* 'aunt.'
Chibchan: Tirub *kega, kak* 'aunt,' Matagalpa *kuku-ke,* Paya *uku,* Kagaba *kukui* 'aunt, niece.'
Andean: Ona *kakan* 'paternal aunt.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Yeba *kako,* Masaca *kokomai.*
Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kuhko,* Waraicu *ghuk,* Manao *ghoːko* 'maternal uncle,' Sanamaika *koko,* Mashco *kokoa,* Kushichineri *koko,* Cuniba *kuku,* Bare *koko* 'aunt,' Canamari *ghughu,* Piro *koko.*
Macro-Carib: Apiaca *koko,* Bakairi *kxuɣu,* Pimenteira *kuckú.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **koko,* Panobo *kuka,* Pacawara *kuko,* Tacanan: Cavineña *ekoko.*
Macro-Ge: Palmas *kẽke-* 'older sibling,' Apucarana *kanki* 'older brother,' Oti *koaka* 'brother.'
• This root is also found in Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Eurasiatic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric, Indo-Pacific, and Aus-

tralian (Bancel and Matthey de l'Étang 2002).

835 UNCLE (MATERNAL)$_1$ **taq*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **niː-ʔtaːwa* (< **niː-ʔtaː-kwa*) 'my brother-in-law.'
Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptin **piː-taχ.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **taʔ.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ćaki* 'brother-in-law.'

836 UNCLE (MATERNAL)$_2$ **nak^{w}e*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-nawe.*
Hokan: Proto-Yuman *nak^{w}eʔ, *nowi* 'father's older brother.'

837 UNCLE (PATERNAL) **maq*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptin **piː-maχ.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **mak^y'u* 'uncle,' Proto-Pomo **maha-* 'brother-in-law,' **meqi-* 'elder brother.'

838 UP$_1$ **yaq*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **yuk-* 'upwards (locational).'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **-yaq* 'up to.'
Equatorial: Jivaro: Achuar *yaki* 'up.'

839 UP$_2$ **k'ɨs*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **akosiːwa* 'up.'
Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **k'ɨs* 'hill, ridge'; Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **kɨs-mɨ* 'up, high.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *kisama* 'high.'

840 URINE$_1$ **seki*

Almosan: Proto-Central Algonquian **šeki,* Musquam *səχ^{w}a* 'urinate.'
Equatorial: Kamaru *cako* 'urinate,' Shuara *šiki,* Piaroa *caxkuelia.*
• [AK200, E120]

841 URINE$_2$ **wisi*

Penutian: Chinook *wiuš.* Gulf: Yuki *aš* 'urinate.' Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *iš.*
Chibchan: Aruak: Kagaba *wisi*; Cuitlatec *wɨɬɨ* 'urinate'; Chibcha: Manare *yisa*; Talamanca: Borunca *wiš(-ku)*; Misumalpan: Ulua *usu.*
Macro-Panoan: Lengua *yis(-weyi)* 'urinate,' Lule *üs* 'urinate,' Suhin *yuɬ,* Churupi *yius* 'urinate,' Proto-Panoan **isõ.*

• [P264, CP208, MP61]

842 VAGINA$_1$ **put*

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *beš,* Algonquian: Delaware *saputti* 'anus,' Mohegan *sebud.* Mosan: Salish: Upper Chehalis *-pš* 'anus.'

Penutian: Chinook *puč.* California: Proto-Maiduan **pɨs,* Yokuts: Yaudanchi *poto* 'penis,' Costanoan: San Juan Bautista *lapus* 'anus,' Miwok: Southern Sierra Miwok *pōtol.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i/a-pEš* ∼ **i/a-pEs, *be:č^{h}VdV* ∼ **wic* ∼ **wac* 'vulva,' Karok *vi:θ.* Tequistlatec *la-bešuʔ.* Washo *d-i:bis.* Yuman: Diegueño *hapīčatt.*

Chibchan: Move *butie,* Paya *pɛta-is-tapcca* 'anus.'

Paezan: Chimu *pot,* Ayoman *busi,* Allentiac *poru.*

Andean: Quechua *upiti* 'anus,' Yamana *pūta* 'hole,' Aymara *p^{h}ut^{h}u*; Macro-Tucanoan: Gamella *sebu* 'vulva' (strikingly similar to Mohegan *sebud,* cited above), Uaiana *mbitikope* 'anus,' Uasöna *hibitikope.*

Equatorial: Guahibo *petu,* Guayabero *sil-f^{h}uta* 'vulva,' Kandoshi *apčirič* 'vulva,' Maipuran: Goajiro *piero,* Toyeri *apuit,* Wachipairi *ped,* Piapoko *af^{h}uta-ni* 'buttocks,' Tariana *pāti-niawa,* Warakena *pēde* 'clitoris,' Caranga *piče* 'vulva,' Uro *piši,* (cf. also such Equatorial forms as Siusi *t^{s}u-pote,* Campa *sibiči* 'vulva,' *šibiči* 'penis,' Uro *šapsi* 'genital organ.')

Macro-Carib: Carib: ?Pemon *pui,* Jaricuna *poita,* Pimenteira *pütze-maung,* Waiwai *boči* 'pubic hair,' Motilon *pirri* 'penis.'

Macro-Panoan: Cavineña *busu-kani* 'anus,' Tagnani *opet,* Tiatinagua *besi* 'penis,' Panobo *buši,*' Lule *pesu.*

Macro-Ge: Mekran *putote.*

• [A263] This root is also found in Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, Eurasiatic, Caucasian, Basque, Australian, and Austronesian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

843 VAGINA$_2$ **ʔaci*

Almosan: Wakashan: Nitinat *ʔaʔoc*; Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ats-,* Arapaho *hehéč.*

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *ʔāhas* 'urine'; Iroquoian: Seneca *-heohsa-* 'urine.'

Penutian: Zuni *ʔašo.* Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw *hasi,* Alabama *čočo*; Natchez *ʔac* 'scrotum,' *ac-ayet(e)* 'testicles,' Tunica *-es-wayu* 'vagina,' *-es-tolu* 'penis.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *(a)šiš.*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **si* ∼ *ši* 'penis,' Seri *ʔasit.*

Chibchan: Cuna *sisi,* Matagalpa *su,* Lenca *shusho,* Chibcha *sihi,* Binticua *sisi* 'vulva,' Dobocubi *ču.*

Paezan: Barbacoan: Cayapa *su,* Colorado *so.*

Andean: Patagon *isse,* Cahuapana *sišila.*
Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *siː* 'vagina,' *ĩsa* 'penis.'
Macro-Carib: ?Yagua: Yagua *tašiy.* Carib: Pemon *sai* 'vagina,' *sayi yepi* 'vulva' (= vagina lips, for *yepi* 'lips' see LIP *yepi* above).
• [CP209]

844 VULVA$_1$ **naq'^{w}*

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *nax^w,* Kwakwala *naʔx^w,* Haisla *nax^w.* ?Proto-Chimakuan **loq'^{w}a-* 'hole, cave, tunnel.'
Penutian: Tsimshian *næːqʔoq* 'hole.' Plateau: Klamath *-(o)neːg* 'into a hole.' Gulf: Chitimacha *neʔēs.*
Equatorial: Jivaro: Achuar *nakič.*

845 VULVA$_2$ **ʔene*

Macro-Tucanoan: Maku *c-eʔne* 'vulva.' Tucanoan: Uasona *yane,* Yahuna *yaʔna* 'vulva,' Puinave *yon* 'vulva.'
Equatorial: Saliba *hiñoʔ siʔihe* 'vulva.'
Macro-Carib: Witotoan: Murui, Minica, Nipode *hiani,* Carib: Proto-Carib **eni* 'vase, sheath, interior.'
• [MT97, MC74]

846 WALK **hiwet*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **hiweːt^h.* Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **wit.*
Hokan: Proto-Pomo **(h)waːd-.*

847 WANT **k'un*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k'oh.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k'an-* 'want, ask for.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **K'uN,* Yana: Central *k'un* 'want, like,' Yahi *k'un* 'want, like'; Salinan: San Antonio *k'unip* 'desire'; ?Tonkawa *taːkona* 'seek for, hunt.'
• [H163]

848 WARM$_1$ **yo*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **yu.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **yoʔ* 'warm (v.)'

849 WARM$_2$ **cuqal*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **culq^w-aː,* Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'ḷq^{w}a* 'hot, be hot.'
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **suqal* 'warm, cook, melt.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **suk* 'hot.'

850 WASH$_1$ **c'iq'^{w}a*

Almosan: Mosan: Salish: Squamish *šuk^w* 'bathe,' Shuswap *sex^w-m* 'bathe,' Pentlatch *cuχ* 'wash,' Upper Chehalis *c'x^w* 'wash,' etc.

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **ska* 'white,' Winnebago *ske* 'be clean.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *saksg* 'clean (adj.)' California: Maidu *c'uku* 'wash.' Gulf: Yukian: Proto-North-Yuki **č'ak'* 'wash things,' Wappo *č'ak'ó l'iʔ* 'wash clothes,' Atakapa *cak* 'clean, wash,' Chitimacha *sahči,* Tunica *sihina* 'clean (adj.),' Muskogean: Koasati *oksah-,* Hitchiti *ok-sax* 'wash' (cf. *uki* 'water'). Mexican: Totonac *c'aʔqa-ʔni* 'clean,' Proto-Mayan **č'ax* 'clean.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Bintucua *ačukua,* Kagaba *ižukue* 'clean.' Chibcha: Tegria *suka-* 'bathe,' *suk-ro* 'bath.' Lenca: Chilanga *c'ik,* Similaton *sagi.* Misumalpan: Cacaopera *saka,* Miskito *sik.* Rama *suki.* Tarascan *cika* 'rub.' Yanoama: Sanema *tikukai* 'wash.'

Paezan: Allentiac *čok.* Atacama *č'ek'ati-n* 'wash,' *č'ek'u-n* 'baptize.' Chimu: Eten *cuk* 'clean.' Choco: Catio *sügüya.* Paez *sökak* 'caress, knead.' Warrau *siko-, seke-* 'rub.'

Equatorial: Arawa: Jarua *suku-ke,* Culino *sukumane,* Paumari *sokoi.* Maipuran: Wapishana *ske* 'wash,' Goajiro *šixawa* 'wash.'

• [A65]

851 WASH$_2$ **huka*

Penutian: California: Southern Sierra Miwok *heka.* Gulf: Yuki *hukol.*

Chibchan: Cuna *oka* 'bathe,' Paya *ok(-ka)* 'bathe,' Bribri *uk* 'bathe.'

• [P269, CP11]

852 WATER/DRINK **aq'^{w}a/*uq'^{w}a*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *-k^w* in verbs referring to movement in or on water, third-person singular (Robins), Proto-Algonquian **-aːhw* 'convey by water,' **akw-* 'out of water, ashore,' **akwawahamwa* 'take out of water,' **akwim-* 'float quietly on water,' **akwinčinwa* 'in water,' Proto-Central Algonquian **akwaː* 'from water.' Kutenai *wuʔu* ∼ *-ku* 'water,' *-q^w* 'in water,' *ʔaːk-nuxuʔnoːk* 'creek.' Proto-Mosan **k'a* 'water, river,' **qaw-* 'water, drink.' Proto-Salish **-q^{w}a* ∼ **-k^{w}a* 'water,' **q'^{w}ac'* 'full of water,' **q^{w}uʔ* ∼ **ʔuq^w* ∼ **qul* ∼ **qal* 'drink (v.), water,' **k'əɬ* 'rain, drip,' Proto-Coast Salish **qəl* 'water,' **k'^{w}ut^l'* 'salt water, ocean,' Songish *q^{w}aʔ* 'water,' Tillamook *qiw* 'water,' Musqueam *qaʔ* 'water.' ?Proto-Chimakuan **-χax^{w}i* 'drink, eat,' *k^{w}iw'a* 'moving water,' Quileute *q'^{w}ot^l'-* 'spill out.' Wakashan: Nootka *ʕ'ot^l* 'raining in torrents,' ?Heiltsuk *d^{z}aq'^{w}ala* 'wind off of the sea,' ?Kwakwala *d^{z}aq'^{w}a* 'wind off of the sea.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **awẽːʔ* 'water,' Tuscarora *aːwə̃ʔ* 'water.' Proto-

Caddoan **ki(ː)c* 'water.' Proto-Keresan **-s-k'a* 'drink (v.).' Proto-Siouan **xu-* ∼ **xo-* 'rain (n.)'

Penutian: Tsimshian: Tsimshian *aks* 'drink,' Nass *ak^{y}-s* 'water.' Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **k^{hw}it* 'drink,' Proto-Coos-Takelma **ʔuːk^{w}-* 'drink,' Takelma *ʔuːk^{w}* 'drink.' Plateau: Nez Perce *k'u* 'drink,' Molala *okuna* 'drink,' Proto-Sahaptian **yeχ* 'water (verb prefix).' California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **kiːk* ∼ **kikːɨ* 'water,' Costanoan: Proto-Mutsun-Rumsen **wak/či/os* 'creek,' Rumsien *uk* 'drink'; Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *wakal* 'creek,' Southern Sierra Miwok *wakalmytoʔ* 'creek.' Wintun: Wintu *waqat* 'creek.' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ʔ–k* 'drink, swallow,' Proto-Yokuts **ʔukun* 'drink,' **xot'-* 'rain (v.),' Yawelmani *ʔugan* 'drink,' Chukchansi *wagay'* ∼ *wagat'* 'creek.' Zuni *k'a* 'water.' Proto-Gulf **okkali* 'spring of water,' **kawkaw* 'rain,' **akwini* 'water,' Natchez *ʔaha* 'lake,' *kun* 'water'; Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **ʔaku* ∼ **ku* 'water, river, ocean,' **kawa* 'rain (v.),' Chitimacha *kuʔ* ∼ *kuːn-* 'water,' *ʔak-* 'water' (in compounds); Atakapa (Eastern) *ak* 'water,' *akonst* 'river'; Proto-Muskogean **oka* 'water,' Choctaw *oka* 'water,' Chickasaw *okaʔ* 'water,' Koasati, Hitchiti *uki* 'water.' Proto-North Yuki *ʔuk'* 'water,' Yuki *ʔuːk* 'drink, water,' Huchnom *ʔuːk* 'water,' Wappo *ʔuk'šiʔ* 'drink.' Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔuːʔk* 'drink (v.),' Tetontepec *uːʔk* 'drink,' Sayula *uʔk* 'drink,' Zoque *ʔuhk* 'drink.' Proto-Mayan **haʔ* ∼ **yaʔ* 'water,' **uk'-* 'drink (v.),' Yucatec *uk'* 'be thirsty,' Tzeltal *uč'-el* 'drink,' Tzotzil *uč* 'drink,' Mam *ukam* 'drink,' Kekchí *uʔka* 'drink,' etc.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ʔaːč^{hw}a* ∼ **aː-x^{y}aʔ* 'water,' **(a/i)k^{hw}ey* 'rain, cloud,' **ʔɨk^{hw}i* 'rain (n.),' Chimariko *aqa* 'water.' Chumash: La Purisima *aho* 'water,' Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara *aː* 'water.' Proto-Coahuiltecan **axe* 'water,' Comecrudo *ax* ∼ *aː* 'water.' Cotoname *aχ* 'water.' Esselen *asa(-nax)* 'water.' Karok *ʔaːs* 'water, juice.' Proto-Pomo **ʔahq^{h}a* 'water,' **hoʔq'o(k)* 'drink,' **ʔihk^{h}e(ː)* ∼ **kehk^{h}e(ː)* 'rain,' Kashaya *ʔahq^{h}a* 'water,' North Pomo *k^{h}a* 'water,' East Pomo *xa* 'water.' Quinigua *ka* 'water.' Salinan: San Miguel *ṭšaʔ* 'water.' Seri *ʔax* 'water.' Shasta *ʔacca* 'water.' Subtiaba: Tlappanec *ihya* 'water.' Tequistlatec *l-axaʔ* 'water.' Tonkawa *ʔaːx* 'water.' Washo *aːšaʔ* 'water.' Yana *xa(-na)* 'water.' Proto-Yuman **ʔaxa* ∼ **-xa(ʔ)* 'water,' Yuma *axa* 'water,' Cocopa *xa* 'water,' Mohave *aha* 'water.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔaki* 'river,' **yuk* 'rain (v.)' Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)k^{w}e(n)* 'river, stream, spring,' **(ʔ)k^{w}i(ʔ)(n)* 'drink, swallow.'

Chibchan: Chibcha *uk-* 'drink (v.)' Proto-Aruak **ak-ga* 'drink.' Yanomam *koa* 'drink.'

Paezan: Timucua *uku* 'drink (n. & v.),' *huk^{w}e* 'rain, flood, storm.' Chimu: Eten *xa* 'water.' Mariusa *xo* 'water.' Allentiac *aguar* 'sea,' Millcayac

aka 'water,' *ahuar* 'sea,' Gayon *guayi* 'water.' Proto-Choco **k^{h}oi* 'rain.' Cañari *kay* 'water.' Barbacoan: Colorado *kuci-* 'drink (v.),' Cuaiquer *kwan* 'drink (v.)' Shirara *okuli* 'water,' Betoi *okudikam* 'water.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **yaku* 'water,' Cuzqueño, Ayacucho, Huancay, Junin, Ancash, Ingano *yaku* 'water,' Boliviano *yakun* 'water.' Mapudungu *ko* 'water,' Chilote *ku* 'water.' Aymara *oqo* 'swallow.' Catacao: Colon *kum* 'drink.' Culli *kumu* 'drink.' Patagon: Tsoneka *komahi* 'drink,' Tehuelche *kam-an* 'drink,' *koi* 'lake,' Puelche *yagep* 'water,' *yagoz kogoge* 'I drink water.' Yamana *aka* 'lake.' ?Qawasqar *aqcewar* 'drink water.' Sechura *xoto* 'water.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *okõã* 'water, river.' Capixana *ikunĩ, kuni* 'water.' Proto-Tucanoan **a-ko* 'water,' **ũkũ* 'drink,' Tucano, Waikina *axko* 'water,' Tama, Pioje, Coto *oko* 'water,' Cubeo *oko* 'water,' *ũkũ-yɨ̃* 'drink,' Coreguaje *oko* 'water,' *ũk^{h}u-* 'drink,' Siona *oko* 'water,' *ũku-hi* 'drink,' Secoya *ũku-ye* 'drink,' Orejon *ũku-yi* 'drink.' Bahukiwa *oko* 'water,' *uku-mi* 'he is drinking,' Yahuna, Tanimuca *okoa* 'water,' *uku-ri-ka* 'drink,' Pamöa *hoko* 'water,' Erulia, Tsölöa, Palanoa, Tuyuca, Bara, Tsöla *oxko* 'water.' Muniche *aʔyi* 'rain (n.)' Koaia *ha* 'water.' Maku-Puinave *wok* 'drink.' Capishana *kuni* 'water.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Chapacura *akum* 'water,' Urupa, Itene *kom* 'water,' etc. Guamo *kum* 'water.' Maipuran: Guamo, Wañam, Abitana, Kumana *kum* 'water,' Yaulapiti *(mapa-)kuma* 'honey' (*mapa* = 'bee'), Guana *uko* 'rain,' Quitemo *ako* 'water,' Nape *akon* 'water.' Proto-Tupi-Guarani **ɨʔu* 'drink (v.),' Proto-Tupi **akɨm* 'wet,' Wayoro *ögö* 'water,' Canoeiros, Kaapor *üg* 'water,' Neengatu *üːg* 'water,' Potiguara, Mawe *üː* 'water,' Guarani, Chiripa, Monde, Tembe, Guajajara, Guayaqui *ü* 'water.' Otomaco: Taparita *kuema* 'lake.' Piaroa: Maco *ahia* 'water,' Piaroa *ahiya* 'water,' Saliba *õg^{w}e* 'drink.' ?Pakaasnovos *hok* 'cook in water.' Otomaco: Otomaco *ya* 'water.' Chipaya *kuas* 'water.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Taranoan **wokɨ* 'drink (n.),' ?Carare *kʔara* 'water,' Yupe, Chaque, Macoa, Shaparu *kuna* 'water,' Maraca, Iroca *kuːna* 'water,' Yukpa *kuna* 'drink.'

Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Guachi *öak* 'water.' Lule *uk* 'drink.' Culino *yaku* 'water.' Mataco: Suhin *yoke* 'drink,' Towothli *iyake* 'drink,' Payagua *ueig* 'water.' Proto-Tacanan **ik(i)a* 'drink, eat,' **kweri* 'river,' Tumupasa *ahui* 'water.' Vejoz *guag* 'water.' Enimaga *guale* 'water.' Proto-Panoan **waka* 'river,' Canawari, Poyanawa, Yawanawa *waka* 'water,' Maruba *uoka* 'water,' Waninawa *wakah* 'water,' Amaguaka *wakoma* 'water,' Nishinawa *wakuma* 'water.' Mascoian: ?Lengua *ik-mameyia* 'rain (n.)'

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *ku* 'drink' (n.), Koraveka *ako* 'drink!' (imperative). Ge: Mehin, Taje, Krenje *ku* 'water,' Chikriaba *kü* 'water.' Ka-

makan *kwa* 'drink,' *ko* 'smoke (v.)' Kaingang *goyo* 'water,' Fulnio *kho* 'drink.' Kumansho *kunaʔan* 'water.' Proto-Tacanan **ik(i)a* 'drink, eat,' **kweri* 'river.'

• [A87] There appears to have originally been two forms of this root—**aq'ʷa* 'water' and **uq'ʷa* 'drink'—and some languages preserve both forms: Proto-Salish **-qʷa* ∼ **-kʷa* 'water,' **q'ʷac'* 'full of water,' **qʷuʔ* ∼ **ʔuqʷ* 'drink (v.), water,' Proto-Mayan **haʔ* 'water,' **uk'-* 'drink,' Proto-Pomo **ʔahqʰa* 'water,' **hoʔq'o(k)* 'drink,' Proto-Tucanoan **a-ko* 'water,' **ũkũ* 'drink.' Both of these closely related roots are widespread around the world, including Khoisan, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Pacific, and Australian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994). The same *a/u* alternation is also found in Ainu *wakka* 'water,' *ku* 'drink.'

853 WATER$_1$ **man*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **men-* 'drink,' Proto-Algonquian **menehkwawitam* 'drink.

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **mVni.*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **minlak* 'sea.' California Penutian *me/om* 'drink,' Proto-Maiduan **moːho* 'drink,' Wintun *mem*; Maidu *mo* 'drink.' Plateau: Klamath *ambo.* Gulf: Proto-Yuki **miʔ* 'water, drink,' Yuki *miː* 'water, drink,' Wappo *meʔ.* Proto-Muskogean **umkʷa* 'rain.' Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **me(h)ya* 'sea,' **mɨha nɨːʔ* 'river,' **muʔt* 'spring.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **imeʔ* 'drink,' Achomawi: Atsugewi *yumeː* 'river.' Chumash: San Buenaventura *ma* 'stream.' Esselen *imi-la* 'sea.' Subtiaba: Subtiaba *(na-)ña* (Subtiaba *ñ* often derives from **m*), Tlappanec *iña.* Washo *ime.* Yurumangui *yo-ima* 'saliva' (= 'mouth-water').

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **(w)ema* 'rain (v.)'

Chibchan: Yanomam *maː* 'rain,' Waica *mãõ,* Surara, Paucosa *mau.*

Paezan: Allentiac: Allentiac *mañ*a 'drink,' Millcayac *mañe* 'drink.' Chimu: Eten *man* 'eat, drink.' Jirajara: Jirajara *mangi* 'drink,' Ayoman *mambi* 'drink,' Gayon *manvi* 'drink.' Cf. Choco: Catio *mimbu* 'swallow.' Timucua *moka* 'sea, ocean,' *mayu* 'drink.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **mayu* 'river.' Aymara *uma.* Zaparo *muːriča* 'water, river,' *ʔumaru* 'rain.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *manaː.* Puinave *mã.* Cataushi *mãŋhi.* Proto-Nambikwara **hamə̃i* 'rain.'

Equatorial: Arawakan: Taino *ama,* Toyeri *meːi,* Callahuaya *mimi.* Jivaroan: Palta *yuma,* Gualaquiza, Upano *yume,* Achuar, Shuara, Huambisa, Aguaruna *yumi.* Proto-Guahiban **mene* 'river, stream,' **ema* 'rain,' **me-ra* 'water,' Guahibo *mera.* Proto-Tupi-Guarani **aman* 'rain,' Kepkeriwat *amãni.*

Macro-Carib: Bora: Muinane *maːño* 'wet.' Proto-Witotoan **moː(n)ai* 'sea,'

Witoto *(h)iman(i)* 'river,' Ocaina *maːnu* 'river, sea.'

Macro-Panoan: Vilela *ma.* Chunupi *maː.* Kaskiha *yemen.*

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *miñan.*

• [A89, A264]

854 WATER$_2$ **poi*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **-aːpaːw(eː).*

Penutian: California: Miwok: Marin, Lake Miwok *uːpa* 'rain'; Maidu *bai* 'rain.' Gulf: Natchez *yoba* 'rain' (v.); Muskogean: Hitchiti *obæ* 'rain' (v.), Choctaw *ombe* 'rain.' Mexican: Mayan: Huastec *aːb* 'rain.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ipaː* 'rain, cloud,' **pVHa* 'rain (v.), spill, flow,' Proto-Pomo **biʔda* 'creek.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **p'ɑ,* Proto-Tanoan **p'o,* Kiowa *p'ɔ* 'stream,' Tewa *p'o,* Taos *p'o(-one),* Isleta *p'ãide.* Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)(H)k^{w}a(h)(ʔ)(n).* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pa* 'water,' **pa-tu* ∼ **pa-ta* 'river.'

Chibchan: Cuna *apoyoa* 'moisten.' Rama *s-ba* 'wet.' Yanomam *patau* 'river.'

Paezan: Millcayac *poto* 'river.' Atacama *k'epi-pui* 'tear' (*k'epi* = 'eye'). Barbacoan: Cayapa, Colorado, Muellama *pi* 'water, river,' Cuaiquer *pi* 'river,' Cara *bi.* Choco: Catio *ba* 'liquid, sap.' Mura: Mura *pe* 'water, river,' Bohura *ipe,* Matanawi *api* 'water, river.' Paez: Paez *afi* 'clear water,' Guambiano, Totoro *pi,* Moguex *piː.* Timucua *ibi* 'water, river.' Itonama *uwu* 'river.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **upu-* 'drink.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *buhu* 'rain.' Movima *poi* 'to wet.' Puinave: Ubde-Nehern, Papury *puːi* 'to wet.' Tucano *pu* 'become wet,' *puː* 'make wet.' Maku-Puinave *babʔa* 'drink!'

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **apa* 'drink.' Arawakan: Cauishana *auvi,* Culino, Madiha *pacu,* Arua *paha.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **ba . . .* 'lake.' Proto-Tacanan **uwi* 'water,' **bu-* 'pool of water,' Sapiboca *eubi.*

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *poba,* Umotina *po* 'river.' Caraja *be* ∼ *bae* 'water,' *bae ro* 'river,' *byu* 'rain,' *beai* 'drink,' Javaje *bɛɛ.* Guato *ma-vei* 'rain.' Mashakali: Capoxo *vui* 'rain.' Opaie *poe* 'lake.' Oti *beia* 'rain.' Puri: Coroado *ba* 'drink.' Cf. Botocudo *muniã-po* 'rain,' *muniã* 'water.' Yabuti: Arikapu *bi.* Erikbaktsa *pihʔik.*

• [A265]

855 WATER$_3$ **re*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **re* 'lake.' Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ihr* 'drink (v.),' Seneca *(nyota)-re* 'lake.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **ʔolːe* 'lake, ocean.'

Chibchan: Aruak: Bintucua *ria* 'liquid,' Chibchan: Tegria, Boncota, Manare *ria*; Guaymi: Move *-ri* 'liquid'; Rama *ari* 'liquid'; Tarascan *pʰi-ri* 'a small amount of liquid.' Mosquito *laya.* Misumalpan: Matagalpa, Cacaopera *li.*
Paezan: Atacama *(pu-)ri.* Chimu: Puruha *la.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *-lĩʔ* 'river.'
Macro-Carib: Yagua *rũːmu(ra)* 'rain (v.)'
Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *läyayäx* 'drink (v.)'
• [AK109, CP212]

856 WATER$_4$ **si*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-ays* 'water,' **-sinta* ∼ **c'inta* 'in water.' Proto-Algonquian **siːpiːwi* 'river.' Proto-Chemakuan **-sina,* Quileute *siya-* 'low water in river.'
Penutian: Proto-Penutian **si-* 'water,' **si-s-* 'creek,' Proto-Tsimshian **wiːs* 'rain,' Tsimshian *wæs* 'rain.' Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **ši* 'drink (v.)' California: Proto-Maiduan **sew* 'river.' Gulf: Tunica *wiši,* Wappo *isɛ* 'dig for water.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i/a-si* 'drink,' Achomawi *iss* 'drink,' Karok *ʔis* 'drink,' Seri *isī* 'drink,' North Yana *siː* 'drink.' Proto-Pomo **si-* 'in or with water.' Proto-Yuman **si* 'water, drink (v.)' Yurumangui *si* 'drink.'
Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **si-di(N)-ye* 'water, liquid,' Chibcha *sie.* Rama *si* ∼ *ši* ∼ *siba* 'water,' *sisu(ka)* 'river.' Corobisi *si.* Guaymi: Chumulu *ži.*
Andean: Yamana *sima.* Mapudungu *wičiʎ-ko* 'creek.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **sĩʔdĩ* ∼ **siʔni* 'drink.'
Equatorial: Tupi: Arikem *ese.* Kariri: Dzubucua *isu.*
Macro-Panoan: Angaite *iswmen.*
Macro-Ge: Kadurukre *išu* 'saliva,' Kamakan *yašo* 'saliva.' Kutasho *sin.*
• [P272, H44, MG94]

857 WATER$_5$ **kʷati*

Almosan: Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *χʷós-sidat* 'salt water.' Wakashan: Nootka *ḥos* 'salt water.'
Paezan: Colorado *kuci* 'drink,' Cayapa *kušnu* 'drink,' Cuaiquer *kwazi.* Itonama *kasi(-ʔna)* 'drink,' Timucua *okut* 'drink.'
Andean: Cholona *kot,* Hivito *kači,* Sechura *xoto.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Coretu *kotapu.*
Equatorial: Kitemoka *su-huaiše* 'lake,' Itene *huče* 'swamp,' Uro *koasi* 'lake,' Chipaya *kuas.* Tinigua: Tinigua *ñinkwaši.*
Macro-Ge: Umotina *i-kotu* 'drink,' Fulnio *i-kote* 'drink.'
• [CP51, AN121, E64, MG33]

858 WATER$_6$ *p'ak

Almosan: Proto-Algic *pekw- 'into a body of water,' *-ephe:ʔw- 'rain,' Proto-Algonquian *-epye:(k). Mosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *piχ^{w}ḷa* 'damp,' Haisla *piq^{w}a* 'dampen.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *p'ak^{h}p'ak^h* 'wash' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action). Gulf: Atakapa *pac* 'wash,' Natchez *pacak* 'wet.' Mexican: Mayan: Kekchí *puč'* 'wash,' Huastec *pakul* 'wash.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *ipa: 'rain, cloud,' *p^{h}ac 'rain, snow,' *pVHa 'rain (v.), flow, spill,' Proto-Pomo *biʔda 'creek.' Proto-Yuman *paʔow 'rain.'

Chibchan: Talamanca: Terraba *puk* 'wet.' ?Rama *pakpak* 'river bird.'

Paezan: Choco: Tucura *bek(-eai)* 'water (v.),' Betoi *ofaku* 'rain.' Barbacoan: Cara *bi.* Mura: Mura, Piraha *pe.* Guambiano, Totoro, Cayapa, Colorado, Muellama *pi,* Moguex *pi:.*

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *pukyu 'spring.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *buhu* 'rain.'

Equatorial: Arawakan: Culino, Madiha *pacu,* Araua *paha,* Paumari *pãha,* Yamamadi *pãhã.*

Macro-Panoan: Panoan: Sensi *enipaxa.* Proto-Tacanan *bu- 'pool of water.'

Macro-Ge: Caraja: Caraja *be* 'water,' *byu* 'rain,' Javaje *bɛ:.* Yabuti: Arikapu *bi.*

• [P273, CP214]

859 WATER$_7$ *na

Almosan: Proto-Algic *nepiʔi, Proto-Algonquian *nepyi.* Proto-Mosan *naw 'wet,' Proto-Salish *nụs ∼ nạs 'wet, damp.'

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *nyatar* 'sea.'

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *no:x 'rain,' Takelma *no:n* 'rain.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan *nab' 'rain,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque *nɨ:ʔ.

Chibchan: Antioquia: Nutabe, Cagaba *ni,* Catio *nira.* Proto-Aruak *ni-bu 'sea,' Guamaca *yena.* Guaymi: Move, Norteño, Penomeño *ño.* Malibu: Chimila *uñe.*

Paezan: Jirajara: Jirajara, Ayoman *iŋ.* Warao *naba* 'creek, river,' *naha* 'rain.' Proto-Choco *noseg 'rain,' Wounaan *noseg* 'rain.' Inter-Andine: Guambiano *nupi* 'river,' Totoro *noβi* 'river,' Paez *nus* 'rain.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *nuyu 'wet, moisten, soak,' Quiteño *uno,* Chinchaysuyu, Nauta, Santiagueño *unu.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Huari *hane,* Masaca *hanɛ,* Movima *i'nwn* 'river.' Kaliana *inam.* Proto-Nambikwara *na: 'drink,' Tamainde *nahirinde* 'water,' Tarunde *naru,* Nene *narunde.* Puinave: Nadöbö *nahögnö,* Marahan *nahöru,* Curicuriai *nex,* Dou *no:.* Canichana *nese.* Muniche *ni-* 'drink.'

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran *uni, Achagua, Piapoco, Adzaneni, Tariana,

Chiriana, Yukuna, Marawa, Mojo, Cocoma *uni,* Uirina, Piro, Kushichineri, Terena *une,* Caliponau, Mehinacu *one,* Bare, Paresi *oni,* Amuesha *oñ,* Maypure *ueni,* Chamicuro *unixsa,* Puquina *unu,* Manao *unua,* Uainuma *auni,* Resigaro *hoːni,* Dourados *hoːñe,* Baure *ine.* Chipaya *unu* 'water.' Tupi: Siriono *ine.* Achuar *ɨnca* 'river.' Cofan *nahe.* Macu *name.* Campa *naña.* Tinigua: Pamigua *nikage.* Chamacoco *nio.* Tumraha *niodat.* Ebidoso *niogo.* Tinigua: Tinigua *ñinkwaši.* Arawa: Culino *unin* 'river,' Paumari *waini* 'river'; Esmeralda *una* 'rain.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Taranoan **enɨ[rɨ]* 'drink (v.),' Pemon *ni(n)* 'drink (v.).' Proto-Witotoan **nõ-* 'water,' **nõ-xĩ* 'rain,' Witoto *hainoy* 'water,' Ocaina *now(h)ə* 'rain,' *ñioxi* 'water,' Coeruna *nüho,* Orejone *ɛnoe,* Nonuya *nohowi* 'rain,' Andoquero *nohwi,* Caimito *hanenoi.* Yagua: Yagua *nahua* 'river,' *hãː* 'water.' Yameo *naʔa* 'rainy season,' Peba *nowa* 'river.' Bora: Imihitä *nögʔbögʔko* 'water,' *nup^{h}aʔyexu* 'well (water),' *nuxpayk^{h}o* 'water.'

Macro-Panoan: Mascoy *na(-thwatk^{y}i)* 'bathe, wash.' Abipon *enarp.* Lule *na-* (instrumental prefix) 'action with water.' Mataco: Mataco *inot* 'water,' *nax* 'bathe,' Vejoz *inot* 'water,' *niyayaẍ* 'drink (v.),' *nain* 'bathe,' Suhin *inaːt,* Nocten, Guisnai, Chorote, Ashuslay *inat.* Moseten *oñi* 'water,' *añei* 'rain,' *inac* 'river.' Proto-Pano-Tacanan **na-* 'water, bathe,' Proto-Panoan **ïnï* 'water,' **na-ši* 'bathe,' **ɨnɨ* 'water,' **na-. . .* 'water, river, rain.' Cashinahua *nə-* ∼ *no-* 'action with water,' Sensi *enipaxa.* Proto-Tacanan **e-na* 'water,' **na(ʔ)i* 'rain.' Cavineña, Arasa, Tiatinagua, Yamiaca *ena.* Choropi *naːʔate.* Capanagua *yene.* Caduveo *niorodi.* Guiacuru *nogodi.* Komlek *noröp.* Chimane *oñe.*

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **na* 'rain.' Hahahay *naha.*

• [A208]

860 WATER$_8$ **ʔali*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-oːʔlʔ* 'in a body of water.' Proto-Chimakuan **ʔal'-* 'waves, choppy sea.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **ʔilik',* Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **ʔolːe* 'ocean, lake.'

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Matagalpa, Cacaopera *li.* Chibcha: Tegria, Boncota, Manare *ria.*

Andean: Qawasqar *lai* 'drink.' Yamana *öla* 'drink.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Nambikwara: Tauite *ari.* Iranshe *-lĩʔ* 'river.' Movima *luʔluʔu* 'rain (n.),' *luʔtiʔiʔ* 'rain (v.)'

Equatorial: Maipuran: Campa *iriːe* 'drink,' Yucuna *ira* 'drink,' Amuesha *ur* 'drink.' Zamuco: Chamacoco *arü* 'drink.' Cf. Yaruro *hara* 'drink.'

• [A88]

861 WATER$_9$ **pan*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **panA* ∼ **ponA* 'river,' Coahuilteco *wan.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **p'a*, Proto-Tanoan **p'o.* Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pa* 'water,' **pa-tu* ∼ **pa-ta* 'river.'

Paezan: Proto-Choco **pania,* Choco, Citara, Baudo, Tado, Saija, Tukura *pania,* Chami *bania,* Andagueda *punea,* Catio *panea,* Sambu *pañia.* Itonama *wanuʔwe.*

Equatorial: Arawakan: Paumari *pãha,* Yamamadi *pãhã,* Atorai, Mapidian, Paraujano *win,* Ipurina *wünü,* Baniva, Yavitero *weni,* Kanamare *wenü,* Wapishana *wenw,* Mawakwa *wune.*

862 WATER$_{10}$ **tuna*

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *toni.*

Macro-Carib: Proto-Carib **tuna,* Proto-Hianocoto **tuːna,* Proto-Taranoan **tuna,* Pemon, Galibi, Caribisi, Caribe, Apalai, Trio, Waiwai, Pauishana, Macusi, Opone, Nahukwa *tuna,* Carif, Tamanaco *duna,* Decuana *tona,* Carib *tone,* Tliometesen *tono.*

• Except for Movima this root is apparently only found in the Carib family, where it is universal. However, Movima is not currently close to any putative Carib donor language.

863 WATER$_{11}$ **c'i*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan **-c'i* ∼ **c'o.*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **c'id^{z}i* 'water,' **čɨna* 'river.'

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **c̣iya* 'river.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **c^{h}ũ* 'drink.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *ičɨ.* Guaymi: Muoi, Murire, Sabanero *či.*

Paezan: Itonama *it^{y}e* 'rain (n.).'

Equatorial: Itogapuc *ači.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ići-* 'drink.' Moseten *čei* 'drink.'

864 WATER$_{12}$ **kam* ∼ **kom*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **-Vkamy* 'body of water,' Proto-Algonquian **-kamy* 'water,' **kemiwanwi* 'rain (n. & v.)'

Hokan: Proto-Coahuiltecan **kam* 'drink, eat,' **kamkam* 'body of water' (with reduplication to indicate increased quantity), Karankawa *komkom,* Comecrudo *kam* 'drink.'

Equatorial: Chapacura: Chapacura *akum.* Maipuran: Itene *komo,* Yaru *kõ,* Urupa, Tora *kom,* Guamo, Wañam, Abitana, Kumana *kum.* Pakaasnovos *kom* 'water, river.'

Macro-Panoan: Chacobo *kɛmɛ.*

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge *-kõm ∼ *kõ 'drink.'

865 WATER$_{13}$ *to ∼ *do

Penutian: Zuni *tutu* 'drink (v.)' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).

Paezan: Waunana *do.* Proto-Choco *to ∼ *do 'river,' Epena Saija, Epena Basurudó *to* 'river,' Embera Darien, Catio, Embera Chami, Embera Tadó *do,* Wounaan *dʊ* 'water,' *dʊsĩg* ∼ *du* ∼ *dʊ* 'river.' Proto-Choco *to- ∼ *do- 'drink (v.),' Darien, Saija, Epena Basurudo *to-* 'drink (v.),' Catio, Chami, Tado, Wounaan *du-* 'drink (v.).'

Andean: Leco *dua.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Kakua *do* 'rapids.'

Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *dodo* 'river.' Kariri: Kariri, Sapuya, Kamuru *dᶻu.*

Macro-Carib: Andoke *dᶻühü.* Proto-Witotoan *dᶻoːdo 'spring of water,' Nipode *ɗo* 'spring of water,' Ocaina *dᶻóːroʔɸi* 'spring of water,' Witoto, Murui *to-ra-ɸo* 'spring of water,' Muinane *ádu-ʔi* 'drink,' Bora, Miraña *ato* 'drink.'

Macro-Panoan: Lule *to.*

866 WATER$_{14}$ *kona

Andean: Culli *goñ.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Capishana *kuni.*

Equatorial: Arawakan: Yaru *kõ.*

Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Hianacoto *konoho 'rain,' Proto-Taranoan *konopo 'rain (n.),' Yupe, Chaque, Macoa, Shaparu *kuna,* Pariri *kana,* Pemon *konok ena* 'rain (v.),' Maraca, Iroca *kuːna.*

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan *kani 'well of water.'

Macro-Ge: Monosho *koanʔa.* Kapasho *konaʔan.* Mashakali *konahan.* Macuni *konam.* Kumansho *kunaʔan.*

867 WATER$_{15}$ *xi

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *xi-y-.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *hi(ʔe) 'drink.'

Chibchan: Guaymi: Changuena *xi.*

Paezan: Andaqui *xixi.*

Macro-Ge: Malali *xexe.*

868 WATER$_{16}$ *hobi

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan *hab-al/ʔr 'rain,' Proto-Quichean *xab' 'rain.'

Hokan: Proto-Yuman *haviːl 'river.'

Paezan: Timucua *hiba* 'rain.' Warao *hobi* 'drink (n. & v.)'
Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *hoba* 'rain (v.)'
Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Maropa *xubi*.

869 WE INCLUSIVE$_1$ **ʔis* ∼ **seʔ*

Penutian: Oregon: Coos *-ais* (second person acts on first person), Alsea *s-* 'me.' Plateau: Klamath *ʔis* (second person acts on first person). Gulf: Yuki *uːs* 'we inclusive,' Huchnom *us* 'we,' Wappo *ʔisɨ* 'we,' Chitimacha *ʔuš* 'we,' Atakapa *-iš* 'us.'
Chibchan: Rama *sa-* ∼ *su* ∼ *s-* 'us,' Guatuso *-s* 'we.'
Paezan: Itonama *seʔ* 'we exclusive,' Colorado *-s* 'let us . . . ,' Cayapa *-sai* ∼ *-šai* 'let us . . .'
• [G21]

870 WE (INCLUSIVE)$_2$ **ma*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **maː-* 'we.'
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **-aːmi* 'I, we 2, we-thee, you 2, you.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **mãĩ-rĩ*.
• [G3]

871 WE-TWO INCLUSIVE **ki* ∼ **ka*

Almosan: Proto-Algic, Proto-Algonquian **k-* 'thou,' Proto-Algonquian **ki-* 'we inc.'
Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Wyandot *ky* 'we-two inclusive,'*kw-* 'we inclusive'
Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *gew* 'my.' California: Yokuts *ma-k'* 'we-two inclusive' (? = *ma-* [second person] + *k'* [first person]). Gulf: Chitimacha *-k* 'I,' *-ki-* 'me.' Mexican: Totonac: Papantla *kit* 'I,' *kin* 'we'; Mayan: Kekchi, Uspantec, etc. *ka-* 'our,' Chontal *ka-* 'my.'
Hokan: Tonkawa *ge-* 'me,' Maratino *ko* 'we inclusive'; Yuman: Cochimi *ka-* 'my'; Salinan: San Miguel *kʰaʔ* 'we,' San Antonio *kak* 'we'; Chumash *k-* 'I,' *kis-* 'we-two,' *ki* 'we'; Yana *(ni-)gi* 'we, us, our,' *(wa-)gi* (second person acts on fourth person'; Pomo: Pomo [??] *ke-* 'my'; Karok *ki-n* 'we.' Jicaque *-kʰ* 'we,' Yurumangui *kV-* 'I, my.'
Central Amerind: Oto-Manguean: Otomi: South Pame *kakh* 'we inclusive,' Mazahua *kɔ* ∼ *gɔ* 'we inclusive,' Amuzgo **hka* 'I, we inclusive, we exclusive.' Tanoan: Taos *ki-* 'we, our.'
Chibchan: Xinca *ka-* 'thy,' Tarascan *-ke(-ni)* 'first-person singular acts on second-person singular.'
Paezan: Allentiac *ka* 'thou.'
Andean: Gennaken *-ki* 'my,' *kia* ∼ *kua* 'I'; Quechua (Callejon de Huaylas) *kiki* 'I myself'; Zaparoan: Zaparo *kui* 'I,' *ku* ∼ *ko* 'my,' *ka(-na)* 'we

exclusive,' Arabela *ki-* 'my,' *ka-na* 'our exclusive,' Iquito *ki:* 'I,' *ki-* 'I' (verb prefix), Andoa *kua* 'I'; Itucale *kanö* 'I,' *kax-* 'my,' *kanakanö* 'we,' *kanax-* 'our'; Cahuapana *kua* 'I,' *-uk* 'my,' Jebero *koa* ∼ *kwa* 'I,' *-ok* 'my,' Mayna *-ke* 'let us . . . ,' Cholona *ok* 'I,' *ki* 'our,' Leco *kui* 'we' (verb subject). Mayna *-ke* 'let us.'

Macro-Carib: Proto-Carib **ki-* 'we-two inclusive, first person acting on second person, second person acting on first person.' Witoto *ko* 'we-two,' *kay* 'we.'

Macro-Ge: Erikbatsa *ikia* 'thou,' Bororo *aki* 'thou,' Coroado *ga* 'thou.'

• [G10, G19, G28] WE-TWO-INCLUSIVE has evolved into I and THOU in different languages.

872 WEST **bo*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **bɨ-*.

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **bo:*.

873 WHITE$_1$ **pala*

Penutian: Oregon: Yakonan *λpāal-*. Plateau: Lutuami *palpal*, Klamath *bal*, Sahaptin *plaS*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *pōʔp*, Zoque *popo*.

Hokan: Washo *dal-popoi*, Santa Cruz Chumash *pupu*.

Paezan: Andaqui [fanszu-za] 'cleanse.' Atacama *palan* 'cleanse.' Barbacoa: Colorado *pura* 'cleanse.' Paez *finde* 'clean' (Paez *nd* < **r*). Warrau *bere* 'clean.'

Andean: Qawasqar *palihhl*. Mapudungu *pelo-* 'get light.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *bala/bara*. Capixana *pan-æræ*. Catuquina *parany*. Proto-Nambikwara **pa:n*. Tucanoan: Desana *bure*, *boleri*, Chiranga *bole*, Sara *boro*.

Equatorial: Cayuvava *ya-pora-xa*. Maipuran: Achagua *paray*, Bare *balini*, Wapishana *barak*. Tupi: Pawate *epeira* 'cleanse,' Arikem *ta-puari* 'clean.' Yuracare *bolo-si*. Zamuco: Zamuco *pororo*, Chamacoco *poro*.

Macro-Panoan: Lule *po*. Mataco: Macca *fo*, Towothli *apol-*, Vejoz *pelay*. Vilela *po*. Lule *pop*.

• [A266] Cf. WHITE$_2$. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, and Altaic (Illich-Svitych 1967).

874 WHITE$_2$ **pek*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Cree, Natick *pahke* 'clean.' Mosan: Salish: Coeur d'Alene *peq*, Kalispel *paq*, etc.

Hokan: Comecrudo *pepok*. Jicaque *pek*. Karankawa *peka*. Tequistlatec *afuhga*.

• [A267] Cf. WHITE$_1$.

875 WHITE$_3$ **tora*

Paezan: Tucura *torro,* Atacama *tara.*
Macro-Ge: Caraja *dora,* Chiquito *turasi.*
• [CP215, MG120]

876 WHITE$_4$ **posa*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **poːšə.*
Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **ha-bu-(nV)-si,* Proto-Aruak **abunsi.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **paśa-.*

877 WIDE **ʔaɬaq*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **ɬa-,* Proto-Salish **ɬaq'* 'wide, stretch out,' Wakashan: Kwakwala *l'iχ* 'wide, wide open, broad.'
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ʔaɬ.*

878 WILDCAT **tunku*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **t'uŋul.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tuku.*

879 WIN **t^{l}'ak^{w}*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Salish **t^{l}'əx^{w}.*
Penutian: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ɬ-(w)* 'win, overcome, fight.'

880 WIND$_1$ (n.) **kiq*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **hiχ-* 'breathe, blow.'
Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **he.* Mexican: Proto-Mayan **ʔiːk'(w),* Proto-Quichean **iːq'.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **χu,* Proto-Pomo **ʔihya.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **heka.*
Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *kiši.* Chimu: Eten *kus.* Paez *keis.* Warao *haka.* Millcayac *hukum* 'air.' Proto-Choco **uku* 'blowgun.'
Andean: Cholona: Cholona *kaz, kas, kaš,* Hivito *koktom.* Itucale *köxöana.* Patagon: Tsoneka *kučen,* Tehuelche *koːšen, kosen.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Maku-Puinave *ʔɨːʔ* 'blowgun.'
Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *hukoʔ* 'blow with the mouth,' *hi* 'blow the nose.'
Macro-Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **heheːči.*
Macro-Ge: Caraja *kɨhɨ.* Proto-Ge **kok.* Kaingang: Kaingang *kãka* 'wind,' *kãkan* 'blow,' Tibagi *kanka,* etc.
• [A268]

881 WIND$_2$ (n.) **k^{w}ala*

Penutian: Chinook *ikxala.* Oregon: Takelma *kwalt.* Plateau: Yakima *xuli.*
Andean: Iquito *akira,* Qawasqar *kel.*
• [P276, AN123]

882 WIND$_3$ (n.) **ʔitewa*

Keresiouan: ?Proto-Siouan **tate.*
Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **ʔiːtwa.* Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **teʔw.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(Y)(n)(h)te(h)(n)* 'wind, breath, air.'
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Namibikwara **ʔit,* Proto-Tucanoan **wĩʔdõ.* Iranshe *tutu* 'blow.'

883 WIND$_4$ (n.) **ʔaši*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-aːʔši* 'blown by wind.'
Keresiouan: Siouan: Ofo *ashuse.*
Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **šepuː* 'blow with the mouth.' California: Proto-Yokuts **šok^{h}iw.* Zuni *ʔaše* 'a hard blow.' Gulf: Wappo *šei* 'wind,' *šɛʔi* 'wind blows.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **sepe.*
Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **sai-.*
Andean: Qawasqar *seqwa* 'blow on the fire.'
Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *asitun.* ?Yagua *ruːdasiy* 'blowgun.' Proto-Hianacoto **heheːči.*

884 WIND$_5$ (n.) **suk'^{w}*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **suk'^{w}* 'blow.'
Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *swok'* 'blow breath.' California: Proto-Yokuts **šok^{h}iw.* Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **suːhʔ* 'blow.'
Andean: Qawasqar *seqwa* 'blow on fire.'

885 WING **kampi*

Almosan: Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *kam.*
Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **caːpɪ.* Siouan: Catawba *hi-čip* (Speck).
Penutian: California: Yokuts *k'aps-ay* 'shoulder.' Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *kap,* Wappo *kupɛ, kapɛʔ* 'feather.' Mexican: Mayan (general) *kob* 'arm, shoulder,' Huastec *okob* 'arm, wing.'
Hokan: Chumash: Santa Ynez *qaːm, qap* 'feather,' Santa Cruz, San Luis Obispo *s-kama.* Comecrudo *xam* 'feather, bird.' Cotoname *komiom* 'bird.' Karankawa *hamdolak* 'feather.' Karok *xip.* Shasta *čop-ha* 'bird.' Seri

kap. Tequistlatec *k-kap* 'to fly.' Yurumangui *a-ikan.* Yuman: Cochimi *guan* 'wing, feather.' Cf. Coahuilteco *yam* 'bird, to fly.'
• [A269]

886 WINTER **tete*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan **titat.*
Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **teʔw* 'cold.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **t'e* 'cold.'
Paezan: Millcayac *tete* 'year.'

887 WISH$_1$ (v.) **mena*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *menw-* 'prefer, like,' Fox *menw* 'enjoy.' Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ma:na* 'try, test'; Salish: Lkungen *amənа* 'hunt,' Thompson *-mamən* (desiderative), *iomin-* 'have friendly feelings,' Okanagan *iqamēn* 'love,' Kalispel *x̄amenč,* Spokane *-manən* 'wish.'
Keresiouan: Keresan: Laguna *amu:* 'love.' Siouan: Catawba *muʔe.*
Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *mi:li:* 'love.' California: Miwok: Central Sierra *menna* 'try,' Lake Miwok *mēna* 'think,' *menaw* 'try' Bodega Miwok *munu* 'be hungry'; Wintun: Patwin *meina* 'try' (probable borrowing from Miwok). Gulf: Tunica *me* 'seek'; Natchez *mai* 'love.'
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ma* 'who,' Chimariko *miʔinan* 'like.' Karok *ʔi:mnih* 'love.' Pomo: East Pomo *mara* 'like.'
Central Amerind: Chichimec *men* 'love,' Mixtec *manī* 'love.'
Chibchan: Chimila *moynaya* 'wish,' Binticua *meyuno* 'seek.'
Paezan: Andaqui *miña-za* 'I sought.' Barbacoa: Colorado *munai-yo* 'love,' *muna-ha* 'wish,' Cayapa *mun* 'who.' Timucua *mani* 'wish, desire' *man* 'think.' Cf. Warrau *obone* 'think.'
Andean: Aymara: Aymara *muna* 'love,' Jaqaru *muna* 'love.' Cholona *men* 'wish.' Cahuapana: Jebero *malealk* 'ask.' Patagon: Ona *maniel-en* 'wish.' Quechua: Cochabamba, Santiagueño *muna* 'wish,' Sabela *mẽ* 'seek,' Mapudungu *mañumn* 'love,' Cholona *men* 'wish.'
Equatorial: Otomi *manenianda* 'love,' *momene* 'think,' Baure *emeniko* 'love,' Kamayura *emanhau* 'love.'
Macro-Panoan: Guaicuru: Toba *ama* 'masturbate,' Mocovi *aman* 'masturbate.' Lengua *min(-yeyi)* 'wish,' Lule *mai* 'wish.' Mataco *hemen* 'love,' Payagua *mai* 'wish,' Choroti *emi* 'dear.' Moseten *maye* 'wish.' Mascoy *emeni* 'love,' Caduveo *addemane* 'do you love me?'
Macro-Ge: Bororo *emaru* 'seek.' Botocudo *moru* 'love.' Fulnio *-ma* 'seeking.' Kamakan *mã* 'seek,' Krẽye *mã-* 'wish, love,' Apinage *amnõnmõn* 'think.'
• [A270]

888 WISH$_2$ (v.) **yana*

Andean: Leco *era,* Jebero *ʔina* (desiderative), Quechua *-naː* (desiderative), Yamana *yana.*

Macro-Panoan: Chacobo *-no* (desiderative), Lule *-no* (desiderative).

• [AN125, G83]

889 WITH **ma*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **-(i)ma.*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **-maʔai* 'together with.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **mẽʔnã ∼ bẽʔdã.*

890 WOLF **tepa*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **TEPə(ː)* 'coyote.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tepa.*

891 WOMAN$_1$ **tom*

Andean: Mapudungu: Mapudungu *domo* 'woman, female,' Pehuenche *zomo, domo* 'woman, female.' Gennaken *-cəm* 'female.' Patagon: Tehuelche *čame, semoe* 'female,' *camen* 'female of animals.' Zaparo: Zaparo *itomo, itiumu,* Iquito *tem.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *nãmiʔi.* Puinave: Querari *nẽ(m)-bid* 'daughter' (*bid* = 'small'). Tucano: Tucano *nomio,* Coto *tomio,* Amaguaje *nomio, romio,* Siona *romi* (forms without initial *n-* are usual in Western Tucanoan).

Equatorial: Coche *šima, čima.* Timote: Maripu *timua* 'girl.' Zamuco: Tumraha *timičarne,* Chamacoco *tübičarne, tümičarne.*

• [A271]

892 WOMAN$_2$ **kuna*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *kwan-iswa* 'girl.' Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ganəmo,* Bella Bella *ganəm* 'woman, wife.' Salish: Lkungen *kaŋi* 'girl,' Spokane *en-okhono* 'wife,' Siletz *qenaʔs* 'grandmother,' Tillamook *k'uwi* 'woman, wife.'

Keresiouan: Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Dakota *hun* 'mother'; Yuchi *wa-hane* 'old woman.'

Penutian: Tsimshian *hanāɢ* 'woman.' Plateau: Cayuse *kwun-asa* 'girl.' California: Yokuts: Yawelmani *gaīna* 'woman,' Maidu: Konkow *kónoy* 'woman, wife,' Nisenan *kono* 'girl,' Costanoan: San Juan Bautista *atsia-xnis,* Miwok: Lake Miwok *ʔunu* 'mother.' Zuni *k'anak^{w}ayina* 'woman.' Gulf: Yuki *aŋ-k'an* 'mother.'

Hokan: Chumash *kunup* 'girl,' Diegueño *kux-k^{w}an^y* 'mother,' *xe-k^{w}an^y* 'daugh-

ter,' Seri *kuãam* 'female,' *koŋkái:* 'wife,' Tonkawa *k*^{w}*ān* 'woman,' Karankawa *kanin* 'mother,' Tequistlatec *(ɬ-)agaʔno* 'woman, female.'

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Proto-Tiwa **k*^{w}*iem* 'maiden.' Uto-Aztecan: Papago *hóoñigï* 'wife.' Oto-Manguean: Isthmus Zapotec *gunáa* 'woman.'

Chibchan: Boncota *güina* 'female,' Ulua *guana,* Pedraza *konui-xa* 'daughter.'

Paezan: Choco *huena* 'woman,' Paez *kuen-as* 'young woman.'

Andean: Simacu *kaxkanu* 'daughter-in-law,' Yahgan *čou-kani-kipa* 'young woman,' Kulli *kañi* 'sister,' Cholon *akiñiu,* Qawasqar *ekin-eč* 'woman,' Tsoneka *na-kuna.*

Macro-Tucanoan: Nadobo *kuñan,* Särä *kana* 'mother.'

Equatorial: Yurucare *igũn* 'girl,' *ti-gũn* 'daughter,' Cuica *kuneu-ksoy* 'girl,' *kunakunam* 'woman,' Proto-Tupi **kuyã,* Guarani *kuña* 'female,' *kuña-taĩ* 'girl,' Guarayo *ekuna* 'woman,' Canoeiro *kuña-tain* 'small girl,' Kamayura *kunya* 'woman,' Guahibo *kvantua* 'first wife,' Amuesha *kuyan-iša* 'woman,' Yuracare *igũn* 'girl.'

Macro-Carib: Palmella *ena-kone* 'mother,' Accawai *kana-muna* 'girl,' Muinane *kɨni-ño,* Miranya *guaniu* 'mother.'

Macro-Panoan: Charrua: Charrua *čalo-na* 'girl' (*na* = 'child'), Chama *eg*^{w}*an-asi* 'woman,' Lengua *iŋ-kyin* 'mother,' Sanapana *küli-guana-man* 'old woman,' ?Chacobo *huini* 'female,' ?Cavineña *ekwaʔa* 'mother.'

Macro-Ge: Suya *kuña* 'woman,' Cherente *pi-kon,* Capaxo *konyan,* Caraja *hanökö.*

• [A272] The Shawnee, Cayuse, Paez, Amueshua, and Chama forms all involve this root and DIMINUTIVE$_1$ *-*ihsa.* This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, and Altaic (Illich-Svitych 1967).

893 WOMAN$_3$ **sun*

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptian *ašam.*California: Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *ʔoša:* 'wife.' Mexican: Mayan (general) *-iš-* 'female,' Huastec *ušum* 'woman, wife,' Proto-Quichean **išoq.*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Taos *ɬiw-,* Isleta *ɬiu-,* Jemez *tyo.* Proto-Oto-Manguean R 340 **(Y)(n)su(h)n* 'woman, daughter, mother.' Uto-Aztecan: M 470 (no reconstruction; "most of the forms reflect something like **su, *sun, *so, *son*").

Chibchan: Lenca: Chilanga *suŋ.*

Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado *sona,* Cayapa *suna* 'wife.' Chimu: Eten *sönaŋ* 'wife.' Jirajara: Ayoman [senha] 'woman, wife.' Paez: Guambiana *išuk,* Totoro *išuk.*

• [A273]

894 WOMAN$_4$ **ita*

Hokan: Achomawi *ta* 'wife,' Esselen *ta* 'wife,' East Pomo *da* 'wife,' Yurumangui *ita(-asa)* 'wife.'

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *de,* Krenje *yiti,* Capoxo *ti.*

• [H161, MG123]

895 WOOD$_1$ **iye*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *-yẽ-* 'tree.' Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan **yã* 'tree'; Yuchi *ya* 'tree.'

Hokan: Esselen *iː.* Yana *ʔi(-na).* Yuman: Cocopa *iː* 'wood, tree,' Walapai *iːʔiː* 'wood, tree, etc.'

Chibchan: Motilon *eː* 'candle.'

Paezan: Allentiac: Allentiac *eye,* Millcayac *eye* 'tree.' Barbacoa: Cuaiquer *iː.* Choco: Catio *oi* 'forest,' Chami *ea* 'forest,' Citara [elle] *eye* 'forest.' Mura: Mura *iː, iyi,* Mura-Piraha *ie,* Matanawi *i* 'firewood.' Paez: Paez *uʔy,* Moguex *oi-t.* Timucua *aye* 'forest, tree, wood.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Koaia *i* 'fire.' Yuri *iː* 'fire.'

• [A274]

896 WOOD$_2$ **ake*

Hokan: Achomawi: Atsugewi *ahwi.* Chimariko *hoʔeu* 'board.' Pomo: North, Central Pomo *hay,* Kashaya *ʔahay,* Northeast Pomo *ʔahaː,* etc. Shasta *ʔakkaː(h)a.* Tequistlatec *ʔokö.*

Chibchan: Antioquia: Nutabe *ki-a* 'fire,' Catio *ki(-ra)* 'fire.' Aruak: Guamaca *ge* 'fire,' Bintucua *gei* 'tree, fire,' Atanque *gie* 'tree, fire.' Chibcha: Chibcha *kie* 'tree.' Guaymi: Chumulu, Gualaca, Changuena *ke* 'firewood.' Motilon: Motilon *ka* 'tree.'

Paezan: Paez: Paez *eki, eʔkx^y* 'firewood,' Moguex *eki-t* 'firewood.' Cf. Barbacoa: Cayapa *či* 'tree,' Itonama *či* 'classifier for trees.'

Macro-Ge: Kaingang: Came *ka* 'wood, stick,' Catarina *ko* 'firewood, tree,' Apucarana *ka* 'tree,' etc. Mashakali: Mashakali, Capoxo *ke.* Puri: Coroado *ke* 'wood, fire.'

• [A275]

897 WOODPECKER **bak*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **s-biga.*

Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *pakpakuː,* Tunica *pahpahkana* 'pileated woodpecker,' Muskogean: Choctaw *bakbak* (reduplication in Natchez, Tunica, and Choctaw to indicate repetitive action).

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **^{m}baka* 'woodpecker,' **PAːKV* 'blackbird, robin.'

Chibchan: Rama *pakpak* 'river bird.'

Paezan: Proto-Choco **pagaɾa* 'macaw.'

898 WORK$_1$ (v.) **pi*

Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Canamari *bu* 'do!' Puinave: Tiquie *beːi* 'work,' Papury *böæi* 'work, make.' Tucano: Wayana *ve* 'make,' Tucano *weː* 'make.'
Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umotina *pthi.* Botocudo [py]. Ge: Krenje *pĩ, opi,* Crengez *api.*
• [A277]

899 WORK$_2$ (v.) **nina*

Chibchan: Aruak: Bintucua *nina* 'activity'; Guaymi *noaine* 'do'; Rama *uni* 'make.'
Paezan: Timucua *inoni.*
Equatorial: Dzubucua *niño* 'make,' Kandoshi *ina* 'make,' Aguaruna *na-* 'make.'
• [CP224, E76]

900 WORM$_1$ **k^{w}ec*

Penutian: Zuni *wi.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^{w}ic.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **waska* 'rope.'
Paezan: Barbacoan: Paez *wes.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **wãsi,* Carapana *wãsĩĩ,* Barasana *wãsĩ,* Secoya *waʔsi.*

901 WORM$_2$ **nokin*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **n(ɨ)kaː* 'rope.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan **niʔiŋ.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **noʔin.*

902 WORM$_3$ **piru*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pel^{y}a,* Proto-Pomo **biːla,* Proto-Yuman **ʔila.*
Chibchan: Rama *biro* 'dirt worm.'
Paezan: Proto-Choco **bɨrɨ* 'rattlesnake.'
Andean: Mapudungu *piru.*

903 YEAR$_1$ **ʔame*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **ʔaːme.*
Hokan: Proto-Hokan **amaṭʼ,* Proto-Yuman **matʔaːmk.*

904 YEAR$_2$ **wata*

Almosan: Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *w'd-* 'cold, be cold.'
Paezan: Warao *waha* 'season.'
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **wata.*
Equatorial: Achuar *wata.*
Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **wætːom* 'winter, cold.'

905 YELLOW$_1$ **tampa*

Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca *tamukuega.* Chibchan: Chibcha *tib-,* Tegria *tam-airo,* Uncasica *tamo-ya,* etc. Tarascan *cipan-be-ti.*
Paezan: Chimu: Eten *caːm.* Mura: Matanawi *tomã* 'blue.'
Equatorial: Cayuvava *titibɔ* 'blood.' Guahibo *cobia* 'red.' Kandoshi *čobiapi* 'red.' Maipuran: Baniva *tewari* 'yellow,' Manao *taweti* 'red.' Piaroa: Piaroa *toahe, tuahe* 'red,' Saliba *duva* 'red.' Trumai *comate* 'red.' Tupi: Tembe *taua* 'yellow,' Oyampi *tawa* 'yellow,' Arikem *taboro* 'yellow.' Yuracare *tebe* 'blood,' *tebetebesi.*
• [A278]

906 YELLOW$_2$ **ci*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *dᶻi(-t-kwar)* 'bile.' Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan **ri* (C), Hidatsa *ci,* Dakota *zi,* Biloxi, Tutelo *si,* Ofo *fi,* etc.; Yuchi *ti.*
Central Amerind: Tanoan: Isleta *c'u,* San Ildefonso *c'e,* Taos *c'ul-wi.* Proto-Oto-Manguean R 245 **(n)si* 'yellow, white, bright.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 476 **si, *ci* 'yellow.'
• [A279]

907 YES **ʔehe*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **eːhe.* Kutenai *heːy.* Mosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *hia,* Oowekyala *hah'a.*
Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **ʔahay.*
Penutian: Proto-California **h/ʔe/o,* Proto-Yokuts **hũhũ,* Proto-Maiduan **heʔe.* Zuni *hayi.* Proto-Gulf *ʔeheː.* Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **hɨːʔ.*
Hokan: Proto-Yuman **xaː.*
Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ha* ∼ **he.*
Chibchan: Rama *aha.* Yanomam *hai.*
Paezan: Timucua *ha-na.* Millcayac *he he.*
Andean: Proto-Quechuan **aw.* Yamana *hɑnu.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *ã.*
Macro-Carib: Yagua *həː(nə).*
Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *ä.* Proto-Tacanan **eʔe.*

Macro-Ge: Fulnio *ʔãhã.*

908 YESTERDAY$_1$ **kan*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)k^{w}e(h)(n).*
Andean: Yamana *kunaka.*
Macro-Tucanoan: Auake *a(x)koan.* Iranshe *ionitie-kanã* (*ionitie* = 'other'). Kaliana *õãkai.* Proto-Nambikwara **kanaC* (final consonant *-C* varies; not reconstructed). Puinave: Tiquie *čan.* Tucano: Tucano, Sara, Waikina *kane.*
Equatorial: Cofan *kãnĩ.* Guahibo *kanibi.* Cf. Guamo *čuna* 'evening.'
Macro-Carib: ?Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **-ko-ñaalɨ*, Proto-Taranoan **kokonyaːrə.*
Macro-Ge: Caraja *kanau* 'day before yesterday.' Chiquito *kañi.*
• [A280]

909 YESTERDAY$_2$ **weɬ*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **waːʔɬwaːpanwi* 'dawn, daybreak,' Proto-Central Algonquian **weɬaːkw-.* Kutenai *waɬka.* Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan **tawiɬ-* 'yesterday, tomorrow.'
Paezan: Choco: Embera *ewaɾi* 'day.'
Andean: Mapudungu *wile* ∼ *wɨle* 'tomorrow.'
Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *xualü* 'day,' *ixuäla* 'tomorrow.'

910 YOUNGER BROTHER/OLDER BROTHER **p'oy/*p'oyp'oy*

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *-pā* 'brother.' Mosan: Salish: Lillooet *äpa* 'older brother.'
Keresiouan: Keresan: ?Santa Ana *-w'ɪ* 'child.'
Penutian: Proto-California Penutian **beː* 'older brother,' Foothill North Yokuts *p'ay* 'baby,' *p'ayeːʔi* 'child,' Maidu *p'ü* 'boy,' *p'übe* 'son.' Zuni *papa* 'older brother.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *ʔepa* 'older brother.'
Hokan: Achomawi *apo* 'brother,' Atsugewi *pupa* 'brother,' ?Yana *p'auʔni* 'son,' Shasta *ʔa-pu* 'older brother,' Konomihu *epput-* 'brother,' Washo *-peyu* 'younger brother,' Salinan: San Miguel *pepeʔ* 'older sister,' San Antonio *peʔ* 'older sister.'
Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **p'o* 'younger brother,' Proto-Tanoan **po-* 'brother,' Taos *p'ay-na* 'younger brother,' *popo-na* 'older brother,' Tewa *bibi* 'brother,' Kiowa *pabi* 'brother,' Isleta *papa* 'older brother,' *p'ai* 'younger brother,' San Ildefonso *ep'i* 'infant.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **po* 'younger brother,' **papi* 'older brother,' Mono *papi* 'older brother,' Kuwaiisu *pabi-ne* 'older brother.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **po* 'younger brother,' **papi* 'older brother,'
Chibchan: Guaymi: Sabanero *pabaligu* 'brother,' Chumulu *pava* 'brother.' Misumalpan: Cacaopera *pai-ka* 'older brother.' Talamanca: Terraba,

Tirub *bau* 'brother-in-law.' Yanoama: Shiriana *aba* 'older brother.'

Paezan: Timucua *poy* 'brothers, sons,' Cuaiquer *paiypa* 'son,' Nonama *hamupui* 'brother,' Mura: Matanawi *upi* ∼ *opi* 'brother,' Atacama *aba* ∼ *biya* 'son,'

Andean: Mapudungu *peñi.* Catacao: Catacao, Colan *pua-* 'brother.' Sabela: Tuwituwey *bibi* 'younger brother.' Tehuelche *abbo* 'boy, child,' Yahgan *pepe* 'child,' Cahuapana *babi* 'child.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Puinave: Papury *pui* 'younger brother,' Tiquie *epaya* 'brother-in-law' (Koch-Grünberg), *pẽ(-nã)* 'brother-in-law' (Brüzzi). Tucano: Waikana *baĩ(-ga)* 'brother,' *baũ(-ga)* 'sister,' Muniche *ye-baę* 'younger brother,' Ticuna *buʔɨ̃* 'child,' Tucano *po* 'child.'

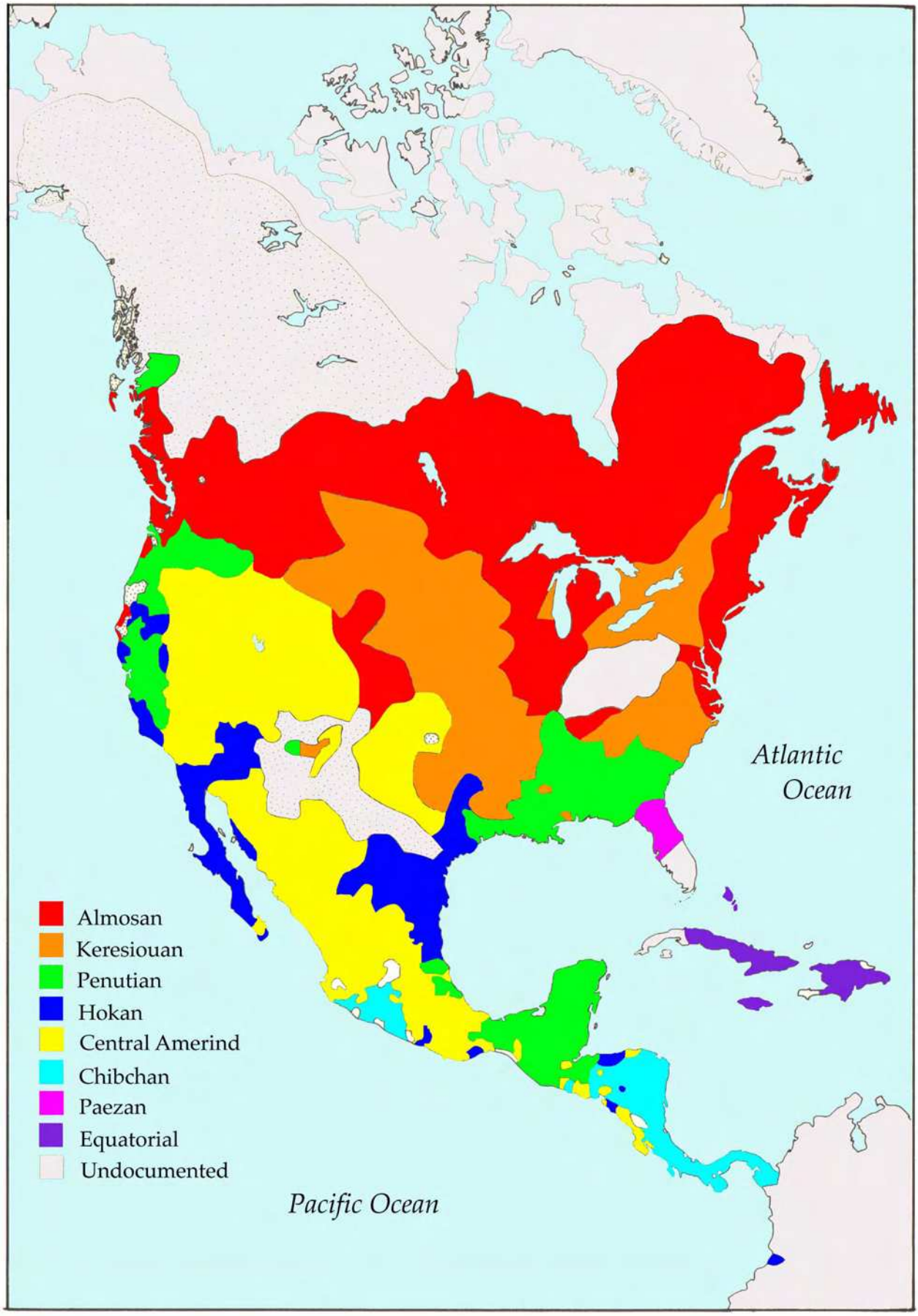
Equatorial: Yuracare *pe* 'younger brother,' *pi* 'older brother,' Kariri *popo* 'older brother,' Dzubucua *popo* 'older brother,' Kamaru *popo* 'older brother,' Chamacoco *pab* 'child,' Tumraha *pab* 'child,' Ebidoso *pab* 'son,' Paumari *ibaiː* 'son,' Emerillon *paː* 'older brother,' *pïi* 'child,' Arikem *opoira* 'son.' Guahibo *piauwo.* Guamo: San José *(di-)pe,* Santa Rosa *(di-)pia.* Tupi: Shipaya *upa,* Oyampi *paː1* 'older brother.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Roucouyenne, Trio *pipi,* Surinam *pɨri* 'younger brother,' Hishcariana *pepe* 'older brother.' Yagua *rai-puipuin* 'brother' (woman speaking), *pwɨ̃ĩ* (vocative) (Powlison). Peba *pwɨ̃ɨ̃* 'brother,' Taulipang *pipi* 'brother,' Pavishana *upi* 'brother,' Accawai *poïto* 'boy.'

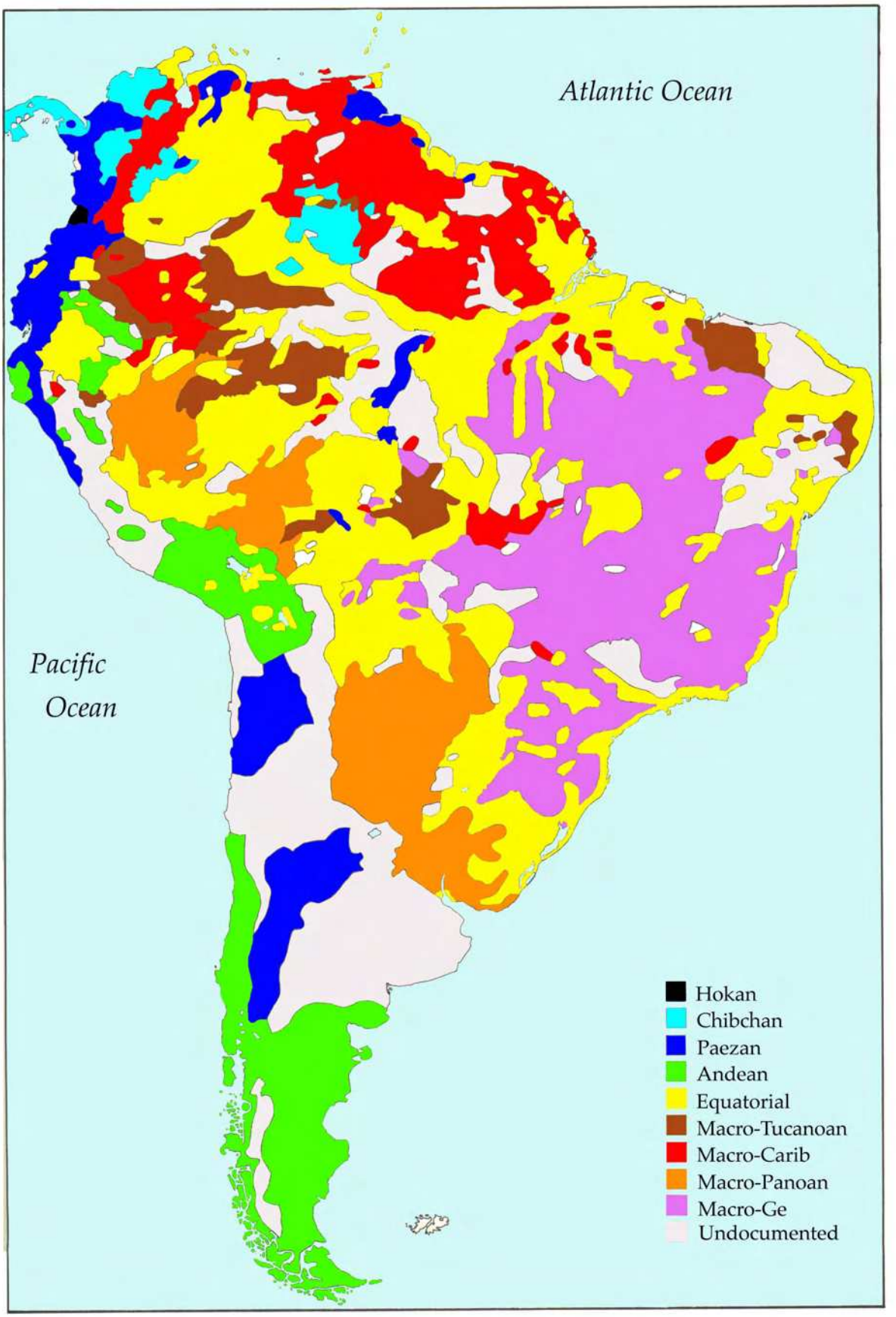
Macro-Panoan: Moseten *voyi* 'sister,' *voyi-t* 'brother.' Proto-Panoan **poi* 'sibling of opposite sex,' Shipibo *pui* 'brother,' Caripuna *pui* 'brother,' Pacagwara *eppa* 'brother.' Proto-Tacanan **bu-, *bui, *bue* 'son, daughter of mother's sister.' Mascoy *poiye* 'my son.'

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *po* 'brother,' Guato *be* 'son,' Kaingang: Palmas *ve* 'sibling,' Tibagi, Guarapurava *ve* 'sister.' Bororo: Umotina *abu* 'older brother.'

• [A53] The Waikana forms in Macro-Tucanoan show the gender ablaut system MASCULINE/FEMININE *i/*u. This root is also found in Uralic and Altaic (Ruhlen 1994g).



Map 1. The Amerind Family, North America



Map 2. The Amerind Family, South America

CLASSIFICATION OF AMERIND LANGUAGES

I ALMOSAN
- A ALGIC
  - 1 ALGONQUIAN: Abenaki, Arapaho, Beothuk, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Cree, Delaware, Fox, Gros Ventre, Kickapoo, Menomini, Miami, Micmac, Mohegan, Montagnais, Munsee, Natick, Northern Arapaho, Ojibwa, Potowotami, Shawnee
  - 2 RITWAN
    - a WIYOT: Wishosk, Wiyot, Kowilth
    - b YUROK: Yurok
- B KUTENAI: Kutenai
- C MOSAN
  - 1 CHIMAKUAN: Chemakum, Quileute
  - 2 SALISH: Bella Coola, Chilliwak, Coeur d'Alene, Columbian, Cowichan, Flathead, Kalispel, Lillooet, Lkungen, Musqueam, Nisqualli, Nootsack, Okanogan, Sechelt, Pentlatch, Shuswap, Siciatl, Snanaimuk, Snohomish, Songish, Spokane, Squamish, Thompson, Tillamook, Twana, Upper Chehalis
  - 3 WAKASHAN: Bella Bella, Kwakwala, Nitinat, Nootka

II KERESIOUAN
- A CADDOAN: Adai, Arikara, Caddo, Kitsai, Pawnee, Wichita
- B IROQUOIAN: Cherokee, Huron, Mohawk, Onandaga, Oneida, Seneca, Tuscarora, Wyandot
- C KERESAN: Acoma, Keres, Laguna, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo
- D SIOUAN-YUCHI
  - 1 YUCHI: Yuchi
  - 2 SIOUAN: Assiniboin, Biloxi, Catawba, Chiwere, Crow, Dakota, Hidatsa, Iowa, Mandan, Ofo, Osage, Quapaw, Santee, Teton, Tutelo, Winnebago, Woccon

III PENUTIAN
- A TSIMSHIAN: Nass, Tsimshian
- B CHINOOK: Chinook, Wasco, Wishram, Kathlamet
- C OREGON: Alsea, Coos, Iakon, Kalapuya, Tfalatik, Yonkalla, Lower Umpqua, Miluk, Siuslaw, Takelma, Yakonan
- D PLATEAU: Cayuse, Klamath, Lutuami, Modoc, Molala, Nez Perce, North Sahaptin, Sahaptin, Yakima
- E CALIFORNIA

1 MAIDU: Maidu, Nisenan, Northeast Maidu, South Maidu, Konkow
2 MIWOK-COSTANOAN
a COSTANOAN: Monterey, Mutsun, Rumsien, San Francisco, San José, San Juan Bautista, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Soledad
b MIWOK: Bodega, Central Sierra Miwok, Costal Miwok, Lake Miwok, Marin Miwok, Northern Sierra Miwok, Plains Miwok, Southern Sierra Miwok, Tuolumne, Western Miwok
3 WINTUN: Colouse, Kope, Noema, Nomlaki, North Wintu, Patwin, Sacramento River, South Wintu, West Wintu, Wintu
4 YOKUTS: Calavera, Gashowu, Yaudanchi, Yawelmani, Yokuts
F ZUNI: Zuni
G GULF
1 ATAKAPA: Atakapa
2 CHITIMACHA: Chitimacha
3 MUSKOGEAN: Alabama, Apalachee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Hitchiti, Koasati, Mikasuki, Muskokee
4 NATCHEZ: Natchez
5 TUNICA: Tunica
6 YUKIAN: Clear Lake Yuki, Coast Yuki, Huchnom, Wappo, Yuki
H MEXICAN
1 HUAVE: Huave
2 MAYAN: Aguacatec, Chol, Chontal, Chorti, Huastec, Ixil, Jacaltec, Kakchiquel, Kekchí, Mam, Maya, Pokomchi, Pokomam, Quiché, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Tzutuhil, Uspantec, Yucatec
3 MIXE-ZOQUE: Ayutla, Mixe, Oluta, Sayula, Sierra Popoluca, Tetontepec, Texistepec, Western Mixe, Zoque
4 TOTONAC: Papantla, Tepehua, Totonac

IV HOKAN
A NORTHERN
1 KAROK-SHASTA
a KAROK: Arra-Arra, Karok
b CHIMARIKO: Chimariko
c SHASTA-ACHOMAWI
i SHASTA: Konomihu, Shasta
ii ACHOMAWI: Achomawi, Atsugewi
2 YANA: Central Yana, North Yana, South Yana, Yahi
3 POMO: Central Pomo, Clear Lake, East Pomo, Kashaya, North Pomo, Northeast Pomo, South Pomo, Southeast Pomo, Southwest Pomo

B WASHO: Washo
C SALINAN-CHUMASH
1 SALINAN: San Antonio, San Miguel
2 CHUMASH: La Purisima, San Buenaventura, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, Santa Ynez
3 ESSELEN: Esselen
D SERI-YUMAN
1 SERI: Seri
2 YUMAN: Akwa'ala, Campo, Cochimi, Cochiti, Cocopa, Diegueño, Havasupai, Kahwan, Kiliwa, Maricopa, Mohave, Tipai, Tonto, Walapai, Yavapai, Yuma
E WAICURI-QUINIGUA: Waicuri, Maratino, Quinigua
F COAHUILTECAN
1 TONKAWA: Tonkawa
2 KARANKAWA: Karankawa
3 COAHUILTECAN PROPER
a COAHUILTECO: Coahuilteco
b COTONAME: Cotoname
c COMECRUDO: Comecrudo
G TEQUISTLATEC: Tequistlatec (=Chontal), Tlamelulu
H SUBTIABA: Subtiaba, Tlappanec
I JICAQUE: Jicaque
J YURUMANGUI: Yurumangui

V CENTRAL AMERIND
A TANOAN: Kiowa, Towa, Hopi Tewa, Isleta, Jemez, Piro, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, Taos, Tewa
B UTO-AZTECAN: Cahuilla, Cora, Hopi, Huichol, Kawaiisu, Luiseño, Mejicano Azteco, Mono, Nahuatl, Northern Paiute, Opata, Papago, Pima, Pipil, Shoshone, Southern Paiute, Tarahumara, Varohio, Yaqui
C OTO-MANGUEAN: Amuzgo, Chiapanec, Chinantec, Ixcatec, Mangue, Mazahua, Mazatec, Mixtec, Otomi, Pame, Popoloca, Trique, Zapotec

VI CHIBCHAN
A CUITLATEC: Cuitlatec
B LENCA: Chilanga, Guajiquero, Intibucat, Membreno, Opatoro, Similaton
C NUCLEAR CHIBCHAN:
1 ANTIOQUIA: Katio, Nutabe
2 ARUAK: Atanque, Binticua, Guamaca, Kagaba, Tairona
3 CHIBCHA: Boncota, Chibcha, Duit, Manare, Margua, Pedraza, Sin-

siga, Tegria, Tunebo, Uncasica
4 CUNA: Cueva, Cuna
5 GUAYMI: Changuena, Chumulu, Gualaca, Guaymi, Move, Muoi, Murire, Norteño, Penomeño, Sabanero
6 MALIBU: Chimila
7 MISUMALPAN: Cacaopera, Matagalpa, Miskito, Sumu, Tawaska, Ulua
8 MOTILON: Barira, Dobocubi, Motilon
9 RAMA: Corobisi, Guatuso, Guetar, Rama
10 TALAMANCA: Borunca, Bribri, Cabecar, Chiripo, Estrella, Terraba, Tiribi, Tirub, Viceyta
D PAYA: Paya
E TARASCAN: Tarascan
F XINCA: Chiquimulilla, Jutiapa, Sinacatan, Xinca, Yupultepec
G YANOMAM: Sanema, Shiriana, Yanam, Yanoam, Yanomam, Yanomamï
H YUNCA-PURUHAN: Puruha

VII PAEZAN
A ALLENTIAC: Allentiac, Millcayac
B ATACAMA: Atacama
C BETOI: Betoi
D CHIMU: Chimu, Eten, Mochica
E ITONAMA: Itonama
F JIRAJIRA: Ayoman, Jirajira
G MURA: Matanawi, Mura, Piraha
H NUCLEAR PAEZAN
1 ANDAQUI: Andaqui
2 BARBACOA: Cara, Cayapa, Colorado, Cuaiquer, Muellama
3 CHOCO: Andagueda, Baudo, Catio, Chami, Choco, Citara, Darien, Empera, Napipi, Nonama, Saija, Sambu, Tado, Tucura, Uribe, Waunana
4 PAEZ: Coconuco, Guambiana, Guanaca, Moguex, Paez, Panikita, Totoro
I TIMUCUA: Tawasa, Timucua
J WARRAO: Warrao

VIII ANDEAN
A AYMARA: Aymara, Jaqaru, Lupaca
B ITUCALE-SABELA
1 ITUCALE: Itucale
2 MAYNA: Mayna
3 SABELA: Auca, Sabela, Tuwituwey

C CAHUAPANA-ZAPARO
  1 CAHUAPANA: Jebero, Cahuapana, Tschaahui, Miquira
  2 ZAPARO: Andoa, Arabela, Iquito, Shimigae, Zaparo
D NORTHERN
  1 CATACAO: Catacao, Colan
  2 CHOLONA: Cholona, Hivito
  3 CULLI: Culli
  4 LECO: Leco
  5 SECHURA: Sec, Sechura
E QUECHUA: Ancash, Caraz, Chinchaysuyu, Cochabamba, Eduadorean, Huanacucho, Huanuco, Inga, Junin, Junin-Huanca, Lamisto, Santiagueño, Wanka, Yanacocha
F SOUTHERN
  1 QAWASQAR: Qawasqar
  2 MAPUDUNGU: Mapudungu, Moluche, Pehuenche, Chilote
  3 GENNAKEN: Gennaken, Pehuelche
  4 PATAGON: Hongote, Manekenkn, Ona, Patagon, Tehuelche, Teuesh, Tsoneka
  5 YAMANA: Yahgan, Yamana

IX MACRO-TUCANOAN
A AUIXIRI: Auixiri
B CANICHANA: Canichana
C CAPIXANA: Capixana
D CATUQUINA: Bendiapa, Canamari, Catauisi, Catuquina, Parawa
E GAMELLA: Gamella
F HUARI: Huari, Masaka
G IRANSHE: Iranshe
H KALIANA-MAKU
  1 AUAKE: Auake
  2 KALIANA: Kaliana
  3 MAKU: Maku
I KOAIA: Koaia
J MOVIMA: Movima
K MUNICHE: Muniche
L NAMBIKWARA: Mamainde, Nambikwara, Northern Nambikwara, Sabane, Southern Nambikwara
M NATU: Natu
N PANKARURU: Pankaruru
O PUINAVE: Curiariai, Dou, Hubde, Kakua, Macu-Papury, Marahan, Nadobo,

Nukak, Papury, Parana Boaboa, Puinave, Querari, Tiquie, Ubde-Nehern, Yehubde
P SHUKURU: Shukuru
Q TICUNA-YURI
1 TICUNA: Ticuna
2 YURI: Yuri
R TUCANOAN: Amaguaje, Bahukiwa, Bara, Buhagana, Chiranga, Coreguaje, Coto, Cubeo, Curetu, Desana, Dyurema, Dyurumawa, Erulia, Hehenawa, Palanoa, Pioje, Piojeuti, Sara, Secoya, Siona, Tama, Tanimuca, Tsöla, Tsölöa, Tucano, Tuyuka, Tuyulu, Uaiana, Uasona, Waikina, Wanana, Wiriana, Yahuna, Yeba, Yupua
S UMAN: Uman

X EQUATORIAL
A MACRO-ARAWAKAN
1 GUAHIBO: Churuya, Cuiva, Guahibo, Guayabero, Playero
2 KATEMBRI: Katembri
3 OTOMACO: Otomaco, Taparita
4 TINIGUA: Pamigua, Tinigua
5 ARAWAKAN
a ARAWA: Culino, Jarua, Paumari, Yamamadi
b MAIPURAN: Achagua, Adzaneni, Amarakaeri, Amuesha, Anauya, Apolista, Apurina, Araicu, Arawak, Atoroi, Baniva, Bare, Baure, Black Carib, Cabere, Campa, Canamari, Carutana, Cauishana, Cayeri, Chamicuro, Chana, Chiriana, Chontaquiro, Curipaco, Cushichineri, Goajiro, Guana, Guinau, Ignaciano, Ipurina, Island Carib, Jumana, Kariay, Karif, Karro, Karutana, Kozarini, Kuniba, Kustenau, Machiguenga, Manao, Mandauaca, Mapidiana, Marawa, Mashco, Maypure, Mehinacu, Moxo, Omöa, Palicur, Paraujano, Paresi, Passe, Piapoco, Piro, Resigaro, Siusi, Tariana, Terena, Tereno, Toyeri, Waimare, Uainuma, Uarakena, Wachipairi, Wapishan, Waura, Yaulapit, Yavitero, Yucuna
c CHAPACURA: Abitana, Chapacura, Itene, Kitemoka, Mure, Pakaasnovos, Pawumwa, Quitemo, Tora, Urupa, Wanyam, Yaru, Yuva
d GUAMO: San José, Santa Rosa
e URO: Callahuaya, Caranga, Chipaya, Puquina, Uro
B CAYUVAVA: Cayuvava
C COCHE: Coche
D JIVARO-KANDOSHI
1 COFAN: Cofan

2 ESMERALDA: Esmeralda
3 JIVARO: Aguaruna, Gualaquiza, Huambisa, Jivaro, Achuar, Shuara, Upano, Zamora
4 KANDOSHI: Kandoshi, Murato, Shapra
5 YARURO: Yaruro

E KARIRI-TUPI
1 KARIRI: Dzubucua, Kamaru, Kariri, Sapuya
2 TUPI: Abanee, Amniapa, Apichum, Arara, Arikem, Awety, Chiriguano, Chiripa, Cocama, Digüt, Emerillon, Guajajara, Guaraní, Guarategaja, Guarayo, Guayaki, Kabishiana, Kamayura, Kawahib, Kepkiriwate, Kuruaya, Makurape, Manitsawa, Maue, Mekens, Mondé, Mundurucu, Oyampi, Pawate, Purubora, Ramarama, Sanamaika, Sheta, Shipaya, Siriono, Tapute, Tembe, Tupari, Tupi, Uruku, Wirafed, Yuruna

F PIAROA: Macu, Piaroa, Saliba
G TARUMA: Taruma
H TIMOTE: Cuica, Maguri, Maripu, Mocochi, Timote
I TRUMAI: Trumai
J TUSHA: Tusha
K YURACARE: Yuracare
L ZAMUCO: Ayoré, Chamacoco, Ebidoso, Guaranoco, Siracua, Tumraha, Zamuco

XI MACRO-CARIB
A ANDOKE: Andoke
B BORA-UITOTO
1 BORA: Bora, Faai, Imihita, Miranya, Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya, Muinane
2 WITOTO: Andoquero, Coeruna, Erare, Miranya Carapana Tapuya, Meneca, Nipode, Nonuya, Ocaina, Orejone, Witoto, Witoto-Kaimo

C CARIB: Accawai, Apalai, Aparai, Apiaca, Arara, Arekuna, Azumara, Bakairí, Barama River, Carib, Carijona, Cariniaco, Chayma, Crichana, Cumanogoto, Diau, Galibi, Gimanoto, Guaque, Hianacoto, Hishcariana, Jaricuna, Kaliana, Macusi, Maiongom, Maquiritare, Motilon, Nahugua, Northern Wayana, Opone, Oyana, Palmella, Pariri, Pauishana, Pemon, Pimenteira, Roucouyenne, Surinam, Tamanaco, Proto-Taranoan, Taulipang, Trio, Waiwai, Wayana, Yabarana
D KUKURA: Kukura
E YAGUA: Masamae Yameo, Peba, Yagua, Yameo

XII MACRO-PANOAN
- A CHARRUAN: Chana, Charrua, Guenoa
- B LENGUA: Angaite, Guana, Kaskiha, Lengua, Mascoy, Sanapana
- C LULE-VILELA
  - 1 LULE: Lule
  - 2 VILELA: Vilela
- D MATACO-GUAICURU
  - 1 GUAICURU: Abipone, Caduveo, Guachi, Guaicuru, Komlek, Mbaya, Mocovi, Pilaga, Toba, Toba-Guazu
  - 2 MATACO: Ashluslay, Choropi, Choroti, Chulupi, Chunupi, Churupi, Enimaga, Guisnaim, Macca, Mataco, Nocten, Payagua, Suhin, Towothli, Vejoz
- E MOSETEN: Moseten
- F PANO-TACANA
  - 1 PANOAN: Amahuaca, Arazaire, Capanahua, Caripuna, Cashibo, Cashinahua, Cazinaua, Chacobo, Conibo, Culino, Marinahua, Mayoruna, Nocaman, Panobo, Shipibo, Paranaua, Nishinaua, Yawanaua, Shaninaua, Waninaua, Sensi, Pacaguara
  - 2 TACANAN: Araona, Arasa, Cavineña, Chama, Guarayo, Guariza, Huarayo, Isiama, Maropa, Reyesano, Sapiboca, Tacana, Tiatinagua

XIII MACRO-GE
- A BORORO: Bororo, Koraveka, Otuke, Umotina
- B BOTOCUDO: Botocudo
- C CARAJA: Caraja, Javaje
- D CHIQUITO: Chiquito, Churupa
- E ERIKBATSA: Erikbatsa
- F FULNIO: Fulnio
- G GE-KAINGANG
  - 1 KAINGANG: Apucarana, Aweikoma, Bugre, Came, Catarina, Dalbergia, Guarapuava, Ingain, Kaingang, Palmas, Serra do Chagu, Southern Kaingan, Tibagi
  - 2 GE: Acroamirim, Apinage, Aponegicran, Cayapo, Chavante, Cherente, Chicriaba, Crengez, Geico, Gorotire, Ishikrin, Kadurukre, Karaho, Kradaho, Kraho, Krenje, Northern Cayapo, Northern Karaho, Piokobyé, Ramkokamekran, Sakamekran, Southern Cayapo, Suya
- H GUATO: Guato
- I KAMAKAN: Cotoxo, Kamakan, Masacara, Meniens
- J MASHAKALI: Capoxo, Hahahay, Kumanasho, Macuni, Malali, Mashakali, Monachobm, Monosho, Patasho

K OPAIE: Guachi, Opaie
L OTI: Oti
M PURI: Coroado, Coropo, Puri
N YABUTI: Arikapu, Mashubi, Yabuti

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ABOVE$_1$ *itai*
ABOVE$_2$ *apa-k*
ABOVE$_3$ *araka*
ABOVE$_4$ *q'aɬ*
ABOVE$_5$ *pin*
ADJECTIVAL/PARTICIPIAL FORMANT *ki*
AGAVE *mal*
AGENTIVE$_1$ *-re ~ -ri*
AGENTIVE$_2$ *ta*
AGOUTI *kuri*
ALL *q'ac*
ALLATIVE *-k*
ALONG(SIDE) *no*
ALREADY *na*
ANGRY *ili*
ANT$_1$ *tai*
ANT$_2$ *cakon*
ANT$_3$ *pic'u*
ANT$_4$ *kaci*
ANT$_5$ *tapu*
ANT$_6$ *bohu*
ANTEATER *bɨgo*
ANUS *kuti*
APPEAR *laq'^{w}*
ARM$_1$ *poq*
ARM$_2$ *k^{w}ana*
ARM$_3$ *noq' ~ neq'*
ARM$_4$ *k^{w}ala*
ARMADILLO *pema*
ARRIVE *wila*
ARROW *mã*
ASHES *pok ~ pul*
ASK$_1$ *maca*
ASK$_2$ *tempa*
AUNT *pan*
AXE *supa*
BACK$_1$ *iki*
BACK$_2$ *mak*
BACK$_3$ *puna*
BAD$_1$ *kalen*
BAD$_2$ *čaka*
BAD$_3$ *q'ac*
BARK (V.) *wok*
BATHE *puk*
BE$_1$ *upi*
BE$_2$ *(a)t'a*
BE$_3$ *ʔi*
BE$_4$ *ka*
BEAR (V.) *ʔa*
BEARD$_1$ *p'oti*
BEARD$_2$ *tuk*
BEE$_1$ *pana*
BEE$_2$ *mumu*
BEHIND$_1$ *(a)pi*
BEHIND$_2$ *ini*
BELLY$_1$ *kate*
BELLY$_2$ *pali ~ pani*
BELLY$_3$ *mat*
BELLY$_4$ *to*
BELLY$_5$ *si*
BEND/KNEE/ELBOW/BOW (N.) *poq'-os ~ c'e-puq'*
BIG *pala*
BIRD$_1$ *c'ik(c'ik) ~ c'uk(c'uk)*
BIRD$_2$ *p'išk'u*
BITE$_1$ *kua*
BITE$_2$ *tak*
BITTER$_1$ *pe(s)q' ~ p'o(s)q'*
BITTER$_2$ *cah*
BITTER$_3$ *kai*
BLACK$_1$ *pol*
BLACK$_2$ *k'ara*
BLACK$_3$ *t'uki*
BLACK$_4$ *teteu*
BLACK$_5$ *tuni ~ tuli*
BLOOD$_1$ *pile*
BLOOD$_2$ *menu*
BLOOD$_3$ *ʔita*
BLOOD$_4$ *pe*
BLOOD$_5$ *k^{w}a*
BLOW (V.) *puci ~ puku*
BLUE/GREEN *sik^{w}a*
BODY$_1$ *p'i*
BODY$_2$ *ime*
BODY PART SUFFIX *-an*
BOIL (V.) *t^{l}oq^w*
BONE$_1$ *pak*
BONE$_2$ *t'ui*
BONE$_3$ *cak*
BONE$_4$ *p'i*
BONE$_5$ *χaq*
BONE$_6$ *ʔunku*

BOW/ARROW *łoq'^{w}*
BREAK (V.) *k'at'i*
BREAST$_1$ *k'amin*
BREAST$_2$ *niono*
BREAST$_3$ *pin*
BREAST$_4$ *tu*
BREATHE *hiq^{w}*
BRING *tuk*
BROAD *pat^{l}'*
BURN$_1$ *t'eq'a ~ t'oq'a*
BURN$_2$ *pek' ~ pok'*
BURN$_3$ *ka ~ ko*
BURN$_4$ *mołok*
BUTTERFLY$_1$ *palpal*
BUTTERFLY$_2$ *penpen*
BUTTERFLY$_3$ *sape ~ sapipe ~ sasipe*
BUTTERFLY$_4$ *liklik*
BUY *teu*
BUZZARD$_1$ *hus ~ huš ~ ʔus ~ ʔuš*
BUZZARD$_2$ *wačuli ~ wayuri*
CALL$_1$ *wanik*
CALL$_2$ *pai*
CAPYBARA *keču*
CARRY$_1$ *apa*
CARRY$_2$ *ko(n)*
CARRY$_3$ *nek*
CAUSATIVE$_1$ *-(a)t(u)*
CAUSATIVE$_2$ *ma*
CAUSATIVE$_3$ *cV ~ Vc*
CEDAR *caq'u*
CHEEK *pok*
CHEST *t'ik ~ t'uk*
CHEW *qac*
CHICKEN *cik*
CHILD$_1$ *(a)nu*
CHILD$_2$ *mako*
CHILD$_3$ *pan*
CHILD$_4$ *ʔali*
CHILD$_5$ *t^{l}uk*
CHILD$_6$ *pam*
CHILD$_7$ *man*
CHILD$_8$ *k'ati*
CHIN *yuh*
CHIPMUNK *wasila*
CHOP *qak*
CLOSE$_1$ (V.) *q'apa*
CLOSE$_2$ (V.) *kui*
CLOSE$_3$ (V.) *pan*
CLOUD$_1$ *tal(u)*
CLOUD$_2$ *pa(n)k*
CLOUD$_3$ *pot*
CLOVER *pot*
COLD$_1$ *canik*
COLD$_2$ *t'ak'*
COLD$_3$ *kaca*
COLD$_4$ *to*
COLD$_5$ *kui*
COLD$_6$ *cia*
COME$_1$ *nani*
COME$_2$ *ta*
COME$_3$ *tak*
COME$_4$ *hau*
COME$_5$ *pi*
COOK$_1$ *maki*
COOK$_2$ *q'^{w}ał ~ q'^{w}al*
COOK$_3$ *koko*
COPULATE *huca*
CORN *cikcik*
COUNT *oši*
COVER$_1$ (V.) *tek'u*
COVER$_2$ (V.) *sape*
CROW/RAVEN *q'aq'(aq)*
CRY$_1$ (V.) *wuni*
CRY$_2$ (V.) *ʔipu*
CUT$_1$ *q'^{w}at*
CUT$_2$ *cik^{w}*
CUT$_3$ *t'an*
CUT$_4$ *q'ec ~ q'ac*
CUT$_5$ *t'ek*
DANCE *taluk*
DARK *t'umak*
DAY *q'^{w}ai*
DEER$_1$ *sula*
DEER$_2$ *taʔ*
DEER$_3$ *mana*
DESIDERATIVE *-he*
DIE$_1$ *maki*
DIE$_2$ *tumpa*
DIE$_3$ *t'iq'*
DIE$_4$ *kam*
DIE$_5$ *yak*
DIE$_6$ *nek*

DIE$_7$ *wanu*
DIG$_1$ *(o)kua*
DIG$_2$ *tik*
DIG$_3$ *(w)ali*
DIMINUTIVE$_1$ *-ihsa*
DIMINUTIVE$_2$ *-mai*
DIRTY *c'i*
DO *ʔaχ*
DOG$_1$ *(a)kuan*
DOG$_2$ *kucu*
DOG$_3$ *c'iʔ ∼ c'uʔ*
DOG$_4$ *ari*
DOG$_5$ *dia*
DOG$_6$ *nuq*
DOG$_7$ *puku*
DOG$_8$ *waš*
DOVE *kowi*
DRY$_1$ *ana*
DRY$_2$ *caqi*
DUAL *si*
DUCK *q'atq'at*
DURATIVE *la*
DURATIVE/PUNCTUAL *-a/-i*
DUST$_1$ *pur*
DUST$_2$ *pe*
DWELL *ʔu*
EAGLE *ʔasa*
EAR$_1$ *kamon*
EAR$_2$ *kana*
EAR$_3$ *pa(n)*
EAR$_4$ *naka*
EAR$_5$ *tine*
EAR$_6$ *tiki*
EAR$_7$ *ali*
EAR$_8$ *isa*
EAR$_9$ *mal*
EAR$_{10}$ *ka*
EARTH$_1$ *ila*
EARTH$_2$ *tampi*
EARTH$_3$ *ama(k) ∼ ama(t)*
EARTH$_4$ *nan(u)*
EARTH$_5$ *pata*
EARTH$_6$ *kake*
EARTH$_7$ *pile*
EAT$_1$ *pa ∼ pe*
EAT$_2$ *k'uli ∼ k'uri*
EAT$_3$ *(h)ama*
EAT$_4$ *k'ama*
EGG$_1$ *na*
EGG$_2$ *tompa*
EGG$_3$ *paki*
EGG$_4$ *c'ik^w*
ELBOW$_1$ *q'ucu*
ELBOW$_2$ *kuk*
ELDER$_1$ *ʔa-*
ELDER$_2$ *-ko*
EXCREMENT$_1$ *pa*
EXCREMENT$_2$ *(i)ta(h)*
EYE$_1$ *(i)to(ʔ)*
EYE$_2$ *tene ∼ tele*
EYE$_3$ *k'an*
EYE$_4$ *tuki ∼ tuku*
EYE$_5$ *q'^{w}aɬ*
EYE$_6$ *kap*
EYE$_7$ *kad*
EYE$_8$ *asa ∼ aša*
EYE$_9$ *ere*
EYE$_{10}$ *nak*
EYE$_{11}$ *hin*
EYE$_{12}$ *yan*
EYE$_{13}$ *oi*
FALL *tik*
FAN *helu*
FAR$_1$ *pali*
FAR$_2$ *ya*
FAT$_1$ *kui*
FAT$_2$ *wila*
FEAR$_1$ *kul*
FEAR$_2$ *pak*
FEATHER$_1$ *p'at^l*
FEATHER$_2$ *pi*
FEMALE$_1$ *-win*
FEMALE$_2$ *iš-*
FILL (UP) *tumpa*
FINGER$_1$ *tik*
FINGER$_2$ *k'o*
FINGERNAIL *cikil*
FINISH *hawyi*
FIRE$_1$ *(ʔ)oti*
FIRE$_2$ *kuti ∼ kuči*
FIRE$_3$ *ma*
FIRE$_4$ *ʔisu*

FIRE$_5$ *ʔaha*
FIRE$_6$ *paye*
FIRE$_7$ *c'ik*
FIRE$_8$ *guka*
FIRE$_9$ *pet*
FIRE$_{10}$ *sila(k)*
FIRE$_{11}$ *yak*
FIRE/BURN *apali*
FISH$_1$ *k^{w}ama*
FISH$_2$ *q'ac'*
FISH$_3$ *(n)amak^w*
FISH$_4$ *waki*
FISH$_5$ *ʔici*
FISH$_6$ *k'al ∼ kal*
FISH$_7$ *yapa*
FLAT *t'a*
FLEA$_1$ *mak'in ∼ makin*
FLEA$_2$ *p'ak'i*
FLEA$_3$ *k'^{w}it'*
FLOWER$_1$ *tuktuk*
FLOWER$_2$ *p'aq'*
FLY$_1$ (V.) *ta*
FLY$_2$ (V.) *yaka*
FLY$_1$ (N.) *k'ampa*
FLY$_2$ (N.) *mulu ∼ puru*
FOOT$_1$ *po ∼ pa ∼ pe*
FOOT$_2$ *asiʔ*
FOREHEAD$_1$ *pe*
FOREHEAD$_2$ *koa*
FOUR *maka*
FOX$_1$ *ʔaw*
FOX$_2$ *pura*
FROG$_1$ *k^{w}aq'at*
FROG$_2$ *busi*
FROG$_3$ *t'en*
FROG$_4$ *wara*
FROG$_5$ *buru*
FROG$_6$ *xana*
FRUIT *teka*
FULL$_1$ *pak*
FULL$_2$ *pan ∼ p'ir*
FULL$_3$ *t'am*
FULL$_4$ *winik*
FUTURE *-ta*
GATHER *yok^w*
GIVE$_1$ *cils*
GIVE$_2$ *yak*
GIVE$_3$ *ʔuk^w*
GO$_1$ *min ∼ man*
GO$_2$ *tem*
GO$_3$ *yak ∼ yaʔ*
GO$_4$ *q'oy*
GO$_5$ *ʔaka*
GO$_6$ *wan*
GO$_7$ *poro*
GO OUT *caq*
GOOD$_1$ *ici*
GOOD$_2$ *c'ump(a)*
GOOD$_3$ *malin*
GOOD$_4$ *k'anik ∼ k'ulik*
GOOD$_5$ *poy*
GOOD$_6$ *ʔayu*
GOOD$_7$ *tač'a*
GOOD$_8$ *k'apa*
GOOD$_9$ *meca*
GOOD$_{10}$ *keme*
GOOD$_{11}$ *q'^{w}aʔ*
GOOSE *laq'laq'*
GOURD *puru*
GRANDFATHER$_1$ *pica*
GRANDFATHER$_2$ *ikan*
GRASS$_1$ *pu*
GRASS$_2$ *qaca*
GREASE (N.) *ʔisa*
GREEN *kuli ∼ kuri*
GUTS$_1$ *epoku*
GUTS$_2$ *kul*
HAIR$_1$ *cum*
HAIR$_2$ *toni*
HAIR/FEATHER *ali*
HAMMOCK *buh*
HAND$_1$ *ʔani*
HAND$_2$ *atu*
HAND$_3$ *(w-)ʔiš ∼ (w-)ʔasi*
HAND$_4$ *kuc ∼ kic*
HAND$_5$ *tana ∼ teni*
HAND$_6$ *pito*
HAND$_7$ *saka*
HAND$_8$ *q'ap ∼ qap*
HAND$_9$ *ʔaqa*
HAND$_{10}$ *tap*
HAND$_{11}$ *hento*

HAND$_{12}$ *m'apa*
HAND$_{13}$ *pel*
HAND/GIVE/MEASURE *ma-n ~ ma-k ~ ma-r*
HARD *k^{w}ele*
HATE *pul*
HAWK *sokal*
HAWK *(sparrow) liq'liq'*
HE/SHE$_1$ *ʔi ~ iʔ*
HE/SHE$_2$ *ti ~ ta*
HEAD$_1$ *puta*
HEAD$_2$ *t'aq*
HEAD$_3$ *sako*
HEART *cuk'u*
HERON *wara*
HEAVEN *ema*
HILL *ton*
HIT$_1$ *tiq'^{w}*
HIT$_2$ *tok*
HIT$_3$ *pak*
HIT$_4$ *maq'a*
HOLE$_1$ *c'imak*
HOLE$_2$ *mu*
HOLE$_3$ *tolo*
HORN *k^{w}an*
HORTATIVE *pa ~ pe ~ pi*
HOT *k'ec ~ k'ac*
HOUSE$_1$ *toh*
HOUSE$_2$ *ka*
HUSBAND *ino*
I$_1$ *na(ʔ)*
I$_2$ *ʔi*
I$_3$ *pi ~ pa*
I$_4$ *ka ~ ki*
I$_5$ *ta*
I$_6$ *ma*
IMPERATIVE *ʔi*
...-IN-LAW *-kwa*
INTERROGATIVE$_1$ *ta*
INTERROGATIVE$_2$ *ki ~ ka ~ ku*
INTERROGATIVE$_3$ *min ~ men ~ man*
INTERROGATIVE$_4$ *xa*
INTERROGATIVE$_5$ *na*
INTERROGATIVE$_6$ *pi*
INTERROGATIVE$_7$ *wa*
INTERROGATIVE$_8$ *sin*
ITERATIVE *-te*
JAGUAR$_1$ *huko*
JAGUAR$_2$ *yak*
KILL *pa ~ pi*
KNEE$_1$ *kati*
KNEE$_2$ *moko*
KNIFE *pika*
KNOW$_1$ *kom*
KNOW$_2$ *yok*
KNOW$_3$ *k^{w}ak*
KNOW$_4$ *ma(k) ~ ma(n)*
KNOW$_5$ *naka*
KNOW$_6$ *rik*
KNOW$_7$ *t'ak^w*
LARGE$_1$ *ta(k)*
LARGE$_2$ *mek'at'i*
LARGE$_3$ *po*
LARGE$_4$ *moːn*
LAUGH$_1$ *kal(i)*
LAUGH$_2$ *ʔaci*
LAZY *hilak*
LEAF$_1$ *ere*
LEAF$_2$ *pane*
LEAF$_3$ *imi*
LEFT (HAND) *q$^{(w)}$ec'*
LEG$_1$ *ta(k)*
LEG$_2$ *caka*
LICK *laq'^{w}*
LIE DOWN *yaq^w*
LIGHTNING *wilep'*
LIP *yepi*
LIVE$_1$ (V.) *ha(n)*
LIVE$_2$ (V.) *ya*
LIVER$_1$ *paci*
LIVER$_2$ *kala*
LIZARD$_1$ *uli*
LIZARD$_2$ *šiko*
LOCATIVE$_1$ *-(a)m(a)*
LOCATIVE$_2$ *-na- ~ -ni*
LOCATIVE$_3$ *pa ~ pe ~ pi*
LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL *-te ~ -ta ~ -ti*
LONG$_1$ *ali*
LONG$_2$ *kule*
LOSE *wono*
LOUSE$_1$ *ti*

LOUSE$_2$ *tina*
LOUSE$_3$ *ik'^{w}a*
LUNGS$_1$ *pos*
LUNGS$_2$ *huhu*
MACAW *maha*
MAKE$_1$ *taʔ*
MAKE$_2$ *yu*
MAKE$_3$ *kua*
MAN$_1$ *ači*
MAN$_2$ *kak*
MAN$_3$ *ipa*
MAN$_4$ *tama*
MAN$_5$ *loko*
MAN$_6$ *koto*
MAN$_7$ *mano*
MANY$_1$ *ali*
MANY$_2$ *til ∼ tan*
MANY$_3$ *moni*
MANY$_4$ *pu*
MANY$_5$ *pote ∼ peti*
MANY$_6$ *lok'*
MASCULINE/FEMININE *t/s*
MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL *i/u/a*
MEAT$_1$ *lau*
MEAT$_2$ *nena*
MEAT$_3$ *mati*
MEAT$_4$ *ati*
MEAT$_5$ *wak'i*
MEAT$_6$ *tin*
MEAT$_7$ *nak*
MEDICINE *t'oyo*
MOON$_1$ *p'ot*
MOON$_2$ *tamp*
MOON$_3$ *nunta*
MOON$_4$ *q'ala*
MONKEY$_1$ *kuki*
MONKEY$_2$ *cawi*
MORNING *qaya*
MOSQUITO$_1$ *puro*
MOSQUITO$_2$ *č'oyu*
MOTHER *tati*
MOTHER/AUNT *nana*
MOTHER/OLDER FEMALE RELATIVE *aya*
MOUNTAIN *way*
MOUSE$_1$ *kus*
MOUSE$_2$ *maqa*
MOUSE$_3$ *p'osa*
MOUSE$_4$ *c'ok*
MOUSE$_5$ *pik*
MOUTH$_1$ *yaq'*
MOUTH$_2$ *kua*
MOUTH$_3$ *kala*
MOUTH$_4$ *čik*
NAME$_1$ (V.) *d^{l}aq*
NAME$_2$ (V.) *ya*
NARROW *cian*
NAVEL *tompa*
NEAR *kama*
NECK$_1$ *k'u*
NECK$_2$ *aru*
NECK$_3$ *gwaka*
NECK$_4$ *pak*
NEGATIVE *kua*
NEW$_1$ *at'e*
NEW$_2$ *c'um*
NEW$_3$ *peɬa*
NIGHT$_1$ *yama*
NIGHT$_2$ *mok*
NIGHT$_3$ *pasi ∼ sepi*
NIGHT$_4$ *kači*
NOMINAL SUFFIX *-na*
NOSE$_1$ *nus ∼ nis*
NOSE$_2$ *asi*
NOSE$_3$ *ɬin*
NOSE$_4$ *sunik ∼ sinik*
NOSE$_5$ *yak*
NOW$_1$ *ere*
NOW$_2$ *ne*
OLD$_1$ *ano*
OLD$_2$ *kayo*
OLDER FEMALE *wis-*
ONE$_1$ *(ne-)k'^{w}e(t)*
ONE$_2$ *tama*
ONE$_3$ *kela ∼ kana*
ONE$_4$ *sem*
ONE$_5$ *saka*
ONE$_6$ *pa*
ONE$_7$ *as*
ONE$_8$ *čeñe*
ONE$_9$ *hu*
ONE$_{10}$ *man*
ONE$_{11}$ *owin*

OPEN$_1$ *k'une*
OPEN$_2$ *pai*
OTTER *keta*
OWL$_1$ *tuku(l)*
OWL$_2$ *pulpul*
PAIN *(n)ana*
PARROT$_1$ *cece*
PARROT$_2$ *kara ~ keri*
PARROT$_3$ *kaka*
PARROT$_4$ *tuwi*
PAST$_1$ *-na*
PAST$_2$ *-ite*
PAST$_3$ *-k*
PEEL$_1$ *t^{l}'uq'^{w}*
PEEL$_2$ *pas*
PENIS *ko*
PEOPLE *ʔoni*
PERSON$_1$ *kaya*
PERSON$_2$ *mik^{w}*
PERSON$_3$ *win*
PITCH (RESIN) *salak ~ sakal*
PLANT *qaywa*
PLAY (V.) *loʔu*
PLURAL$_1$ *ina ~ ana*
PLURAL$_2$ *ma ~ me*
PLURAL$_3$ *aki*
PLURAL$_4$ *le*
POTATO$_1$ *qaw*
POTATO$_2$ *kali*
PRESENT/CONTINUATIVE *-is*
PRESENT/DURATIVE *-i*
QUAIL *takaka*
RAT *kaba*
RAW *čaw*
RECIPROCAL *-ki ~ -ka*
RED *misk*
REED *ʔakta*
REFLEXIVE *ti*
RIB$_1$ *q'aci*
RIB$_2$ *ca*
RIGHT *pet*
RIVER$_1$ *pala*
RIVER$_2$ *tia*
ROAD$_1$ *nama*
ROAD$_2$ *p'en*
ROAD$_3$ *niyani*
ROCK$_1$ *ʔo*
ROCK$_2$ *tem*
ROOT$_1$ *pal*
ROOT$_2$ *tap*
ROPE$_1$ *c'ak*
ROPE$_2$ *tit*
ROTTON *pet'o*
ROUGH *č'aksi*
ROUND$_1$ *k'ir*
ROUND$_2$ *molok*
RUB *yul*
RUN$_1$ *kano*
RUN$_2$ *taka*
SALIVA$_1$ *tupa*
SALIVA$_2$ *tok^{w}*
SALIVA$_3$ *ole*
SALMON *c'wan*
SALT$_1$ *k'ači*
SALT$_2$ *si*
SALT$_3$ *tam*
SAND *yeʔwa*
SAY$_1$ *ti*
SAY$_2$ *q^{w}aɬ*
SAY$_3$ *koʔe*
SAY$_4$ *ʔai*
SAY$_5$ *ʔona*
SAY$_6$ *nik*
SCRATCH$_1$ *χ^{w}ala*
SCRATCH$_2$ *c'iχ*
SEE$_1$ *new*
SEE$_2$ *win*
SEE$_3$ *pi*
SEE$_4$ *ma ~ mi ~ mu*
SEE$_5$ *ʔica*
SEE$_6$ *ʔuka*
SEE$_7$ *ila*
SEE$_8$ *wat*
SEED$_1$ *mak*
SEED$_2$ *icu*
SEEK *peno*
SEW$_1$ *pik*
SEW$_2$ *k'^{w}ači*
SHADOW *mani*
SHE *i-gau*
SHELL (V.) *ʔiksu*
SHINE *lemp*

SHOOT *t'uya*
SHOULDER$_1$ *tala*
SHOULDER$_2$ *peko*
SIBLING *kani*
SIDE *čan*
SING *siya*
SIT$_1$ *ču*
SIT$_2$ *ni*
SIT$_3$ *ʔuwa*
SIT$_4$ *t'aq*
SIT$_5$ *iku*
SKIN$_1$ *toke*
SKIN$_2$ *pakti*
SKIN$_3$ *čom*
SKIN$_4$ *k'^{w}ati*
SKIN$_5$ *pai*
SKIN$_6$ *pici*
SKIN$_7$ *pol*
SKUNK *šika*
SKY$_1$ *hewlak*
SKY$_2$ *ʔapal*
SLAP$_1$ *t^{l}aq*
SLAP$_2$ *lapa*
SLEEP$_1$ *cima*
SLEEP$_2$ *ʔitaw* ∼ *it'aw*
SLEEP$_3$ *ʔino*
SLEEP$_4$ *kanak*
SLEEP$_5$ *ka* ∼ *k'o*
SMALL$_1$ *t'uk* ∼ *tik*
SMALL$_2$ *kunek*
SMALL$_3$ *k'uti*
SMELL$_1$ *matik'*
SMELL$_2$ *k'uk^{w}i*
SMOKE *c'eka*
SNAKE$_1$ *kan*
SNAKE$_2$ *tampa*
SNAKE$_3$ *aq'^{w}i*
SNAKE$_4$ *kamuc*
SNAKE$_5$ *nato*
SNAKE$_6$ *pan*
SNAKE$_7$ *iyala*
SNAKE$_8$ *mete*
SNAKE$_9$ *wek*
SNAKE$_{10}$ *olaba*
SNAKE$_{11}$ *oro*
SNAKE$_{12}$ *pusu*
SNAKE$_{13}$ *k'aʔ*
SNAKE$_{14}$ *yupi*
SNEEZE *ʔasu-ka*
SNOT *caʔm*
SNOW$_1$ *yu*
SNOW$_2$ *pon*
SOCIATIVE *mane*
SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER *t'ina/t'ana/t'una*
SOUR *caq^w*
SPEAK *weh*
SPIDER$_1$ *ʔako*
SPIDER$_2$ *madi*
SPIDER$_3$ *q'al*
SPRING$_1$ (SEASON) *t'ica*
SPRING$_2$ (SEASON) *tem*
SPRUCE *c'im*
SQUASH (N.) *q'ame*
SQUEEZE *pic'* ∼ *p'ic*
STAB *c'aq^w*
STAND$_1$ *tep*
STAND$_2$ *nuka*
STAND UP *taʔ*
STAR$_1$ *(a)sin*
STAR$_2$ *meca*
STAY (IN A PLACE) *man*
STEAL$_1$ *mera*
STEAL$_2$ *k'^{w}awa*
STICK (IN) *ɬaq^w*
STOMACH$_1$ *to*
STOMACH$_2$ *wak*
STONE$_1$ *k'at^{l}a*
STONE$_2$ *cak*
STONE$_3$ *tak*
STONE$_4$ *got*
STONE$_5$ *k'^{w}ak'^{w}*
STONE$_6$ *mak*
STONE$_7$ *pake*
STRING *nu*
STRONG *pale*
SUCK *c'uq^w*
SUN$_1$ *ali* ∼ *ala*
SUN$_2$ *k^{w}al*
SUN$_3$ *pali*
SUN$_4$ *t'ak'^{w}*
SUN$_5$ *c'ul*

SUN$_6$ *kati*
SUN$_7$ *hasi*
SUN$_8$ *maka*
SUN$_9$ *pan*
SUN$_{10}$ *p'it ~ put'*
SUN$_{11}$ *hini*
SUN$_{12}$ *kamo*
SUN$_{13}$ *tin*
SUN$_{14}$ *hada*
SUN$_{15}$ *haya*
SUN$_{16}$ *pe*
SUN$_{17}$ *naq^w*
SUN$_{18}$ *pak*
SWALLOW (V.) *maliq'a*
SWEEP *pit*
SWELL *pos*
TAIL$_1$ *k'^{w}ati*
TAIL$_2$ *tuk*
TAIL$_3$ *baɬ*
TAIL$_4$ *ʔala*
TAIL$_5$ *sin*
TAIL$_6$ *sikal*
TALK *mal*
TAPIR$_1$ *maci*
TAPIR$_2$ *awa*
TAPIR$_3$ *kutu*
TAPIR$_4$ *kema*
TAPIR$_5$ *nake*
TESTICLE *talo*
THAT$_1$ *mo*
THAT$_2$ *pa*
THAT$_3$ *ya*
THAT$_4$ *ʔa ~ ha*
THAT$_5$ *sa*
THERE *ʔai*
THICK *q'^{w}ic*
THIGH *kasi*
THINK *ali*
THIS$_1$ *ki ~ ko*
THIS$_2$ *ni ~ na*
THIS$_3$ *wi*
THIS$_4$ *fei*
THIS$_5$ *ga*
THORN *k'ica ~ kasi*
THOU$_1$ *mi ~ ma*
THOU$_2$ *a-*
THOU$_3$ *ka*
THOU$_4$ *ti*
THOU$_5$ *hi*
THOU$_6$ *pi ~ pa ~ wa*
THREAD (V.) *kuyo*
THREE$_1$ *(ne-)q^{w}aɬas*
THREE$_2$ *sapin*
THROAT *nuk'*
THROW$_1$ *aka*
THROW$_2$ *t'amp ~ tamp*
TIE (V.) *tak'*
TOBACCO *hici*
TONGUE$_1$ *kapi*
TONGUE$_2$ *nene*
TONGUE$_3$ *paɬ*
TONGUE$_4$ *lat*
TONGUE$_5$ *tuk^w*
TONGUE$_6$ *nem*
TOOTH$_1$ *it'io*
TOOTH$_2$ *nan*
TOOTH$_3$ *kan*
TOOTH$_4$ *kita*
TOOTH$_5$ *ʔik*
TOOTH$_6$ *yok'*
TOUCAN *cuk*
TREE$_1$ *man ~ min*
TREE$_2$ *qan ~ qal*
TREE$_3$ *temba*
TREE$_4$ *hapa*
TREE$_5$ *neki*
TREE$_6$ *ʔaxa*
TREE$_7$ *hama*
TREE$_8$ *ɬok' ~ ɬoq'*
TREE$_9$ *kul*
TREE (OAK)$_1$ *teq' ~ taq'*
TREE (OAK)$_2$ *k'^{w}in*
TREMBLE *tuk^w*
TURKEY *kutu*
TURN *maya*
TURTLE$_1$ *hola*
TURTLE$_2$ *kuli*
TWO$_1$ *(ne-)pale*
TWO$_2$ *ʔaku*
TWO$_3$ *wi ~ wa*
TWO$_4$ *tuk*
TWO$_5$ *pit*

TWO$_6$ *mok*
TWO$_7$ *men*
TWO$_8$ *kom*
TWO$_9$ *pok*
TWO$_{10}$ *sak*
TWO$_{11}$ *take*
TWO$_{12}$ *tap*
TWO$_{13}$ *yama*
UNCLE *kaka*
UNCLE (MATERNAL)$_1$ *taq*
UNCLE (MATERNAL)$_2$ *nak^{w}e*
UNCLE (PATERNAL) *maq*
UP$_1$ *yaq*
UP$_2$ *k'ɨs*
URINE$_1$ *seki*
URINE$_2$ *wisi*
VAGINA$_1$ *put*
VAGINA$_2$ *ʔaci*
VULVA$_1$ *naq'^{w}*
VULVA$_2$ *ʔene*
WALK *hiwet*
WANT *k'un*
WARM$_1$ *yo*
WARM$_2$ *cuqal*
WASH$_1$ *c'ik'^{w}a*
WASH$_2$ *huka*
WATER/DRINK *aq'^{w}a/uq'^{w}a*
WATER$_1$ *man*
WATER$_2$ *poi*
WATER$_3$ *re*
WATER$_4$ *si*
WATER$_5$ *k^{w}ati*
WATER$_6$ *p'ak*
WATER$_7$ *na*
WATER$_8$ *ʔali*
WATER$_9$ *pan*
WATER$_{10}$ *tuna*
WATER$_{11}$ *c'i*
WATER$_{12}$ *kam ∼ kom*
WATER$_{13}$ *to ∼ do*
WATER$_{14}$ *kona*
WATER$_{15}$ *xi*
WATER$_{16}$ *hobi*
WE INCLUSIVE$_1$ *ʔis ∼ seʔ*
WE INCLUSIVE$_2$ *ma*
WE-TWO INCLUSIVE *ki ∼ ka*
WEST *bo*
WHITE$_1$ *pala*
WHITE$_2$ *pek*
WHITE$_3$ *tora*
WHITE$_4$ *posa*
WIDE *ʔaɬaq*
WILDCAT *tunku*
WIN *t^l'ak^w*
WIND$_1$ (N.) *kiq*
WIND$_2$ (N.) *k^{w}ala*
WIND$_3$ (N.) *ʔitewa*
WIND$_4$ (N.) *ʔaši*
WIND$_5$ (N.) *suk'^{w}*
WING *kampi*
WINTER *tete*
WISH$_1$ (V.) *mena*
WISH$_2$ (V.) *yana*
WITH *ma*
WOLF *tepa*
WOMAN$_1$ *tom*
WOMAN$_2$ *kuna*
WOMAN$_3$ *sun*
WOMAN$_4$ *ita*
WOOD$_1$ *iye*
WOOD$_2$ *ake*
WOODPECKER *bak*
WORK$_1$ (V.) *pi*
WORK$_2$ (V.) *nina*
WORM$_1$ *k^{w}ec*
WORM$_2$ *nokin*
WORM$_3$ *piru*
YEAR$_1$ *ʔame*
YEAR$_2$ *wata*
YELLOW$_1$ *tampa*
YELLOW$_2$ *ci*
YES *ʔehe*
YESTERDAY$_1$ *kan*
YESTERDAY$_2$ *weɬ*
YOUNGER BROTHER/OLDER BROTHER *p'oy/p'oyp'oy*